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THE NEW MINISTRY.

THE large assemblage of members and strangers which awaited the first appearance of the PRIME MINISTER in the House of Commons was perhaps disappointed by the concise and formal character of his speech; but his eulogy on Lord DERBY, and his general profession of good intentions, were more appropriate to the occasion than any elaborate exposition of policy. Mr. DISRAELI has had abundant opportunities of appreciating the qualities of his predecessor, and it must be supposed that he has some ground for the almost startling statement that Lord DERBY was always the most hardworking member of his Cabinet, while he appeared to outside spectators only a brilliant and desultory amateur. Mr. DISRAELI is certainly mistaken when he expresses the opinion that no greater master in the arrangement of details ever existed, for among Lord DERBY's contemporaries, Sir ROBERT PEEL and Mr. GLADSTONE were indisputably his superiors in knowledge of all the intricacies of administration and finance. In Parliament, however, as in the French Academy, it is the business of each successor to expatiate on the merits of the former occupant of his chair. No one has a greater command than Mr. DISRAELI of ornate rhetoric, and a little generous exaggeration was not likely to jar on the feelings of his party or of the House. It was not his intention to afford them the additional indulgence of gratified curiosity. As he gravely admitted, it was natural that the House should receive some intimation of the principles of the new Administration; and he, accordingly, proceeded to state that the Government would pursue abroad a policy of peace without isolation, and that in domestic affairs it would be at the same time truly liberal and instinctively conservative. It was interesting to ascertain that Mr. DISRAELI, like his Irish Secretary, deeply regretted the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland, and that he hoped that disaffection was gradually disappearing. The House was exhorted to proceed with circumspection, and with an anxious desire to conciliate the opinion of all parties in measures which will advance the prosperity and happiness of the Irish people. There may perhaps be some practical difficulty in conciliating, for the same measures, the support of parties which aim at entirely incompatible objects; but there can be no doubt that it is desirable, if it is possible, to legislate for the benefit of Ireland. It is equally undeniable that Liberal and Conservative tendencies are valuable in their proper place; and a policy of peace has become the most accepted of English principles or necessities. There was perhaps no particular use in Mr. DISRAELI's short address; but there are times when it is decorous to speak, and inconvenient to give information. Truisms are, on the whole, less objectionable than paradoxes, and they afford no handle for debate.

Lord MALMESBURY, in the House of Lords, was somewhat more communicative than his chief, as he announced that a Bill on popular education will be soon introduced. The most interesting element of his speech consisted in the practical proof that Lord MALMESBURY himself has been selected as the Ministerial leader in the House of Lords. For the purpose of removing an unjust prejudice against his fitness for the post, he explained that he had not committed a mistake which was lately imputed to him by the newspaper reporters. It seems that Lord MALMESBURY told the House that Mr. DISRAELI's Administration would be formed, not "if possible," but "as soon as possible." The correction, to a certain extent, diminishes the want of confidence which may be felt in Lord MALMESBURY's tact and accuracy of language. When the representative of the Government had triumphantly defended himself against the charge of verbal awkwardness, Lord RUSSELL proceeded to commit a much graver blunder than the confusion of phrase which had been attributed to Lord MALMESBURY. It was at least premature to declare that he had no confidence in a Government which has not yet disclosed its intentions; and it was

gratuitously discourteous to take the opportunity of denouncing the deception which is Lord RUSSELL's equivalent for Mr. DISRAELI's process of education. Lord DERBY's Government had many faults, but it never "openly avowed that it does not mean what it says, but says one thing and means another." The inconsistency of the party in dealing with Reform has been discussed often enough; and there was no reason why Lord RUSSELL should put himself into a passion on the accession of Mr. DISRAELI to the office of Prime Minister. The contrast which formed the climax of his unseasonable invective was characteristic and amusing. "It is a course of conduct, I must say, which not only men like Mr. Fox, Earl GREY, or Lord ALTHORP would have spurned, but which men like Mr. PITT, Lord LIVERPOOL, the Duke of WELLINGTON, and Sir ROBERT PEEL would likewise have disdained to adopt." The Conservatives of the present day are not only far inferior to the Whig demigods, but they are unworthy even to be ranked with the heroes of their own erroneous religion. *A Fox spiacenti ed a' nemici suoi.* No one would blame Lord RUSSELL for attacking the measures of the Government if he thinks them inexpedient, or even for seeking on suitable opportunities the restoration of his own party to power; but he is well aware that it would be at present extremely difficult to form a Liberal Ministry, and he has no official knowledge of Mr. DISRAELI's intended policy. In his recent pamphlet Lord RUSSELL himself lately professed his desire to support the Government in passing any Irish measure which corresponded with his own opinions of expediency and justice. The burst of irritation which occurred on Thursday evening was perhaps merely accidental.

Mr. GLADSTONE was judiciously silent; and Mr. BOUVIERIE commented on Mr. DISRAELI's speech in the character of an unattached and semi-malcontent Liberal. It was perhaps unnecessary to remind the MINISTER that he was not supported by a majority, especially as Mr. BOUVIERIE admitted that the anomalous position of the Government was explained by the disorganized state of the Opposition. "We have leaders that won't lead, and followers that won't follow. Instead of an organized party, we are little better than a rabble." The leaders that won't lead may be interpreted to mean Mr. GLADSTONE, and Mr. BOUVIERIE himself is not an unfair specimen of the followers that won't follow. A rabble, even if it constitutes a majority, is not prepared to succeed to power; and if Mr. BOUVIERIE's description is accurate, as it is certainly founded on fact, it is useless to lament the inconvenience of a Government supported only by a minority. It is true that insecurity in the tenure of office accounts for administrative weakness, and Mr. BOUVIERIE was justified in attributing the pusillanimity of the Government in dealing with Mr. BEALES and his mobs, to the entire Cabinet rather than to the weakness of Lord DERBY's Ministry was derived from the commutation of the capital sentences of the Fenian convicts in the spring of 1867. On that occasion the final decision of the Government represented the general wish of the community, and there is no reason to suppose that bad consequences have followed from the extension of mercy to the ringleaders of an abortive insurrection. The graver crime afterwards perpetrated at Manchester was duly punished, notwithstanding the remonstrances of frightened philanthropists, and the wild menaces of disaffected Irishmen. The moral of Mr. BOUVIERIE's speech was contained in the suggestion that there is, after all, no difference among moderate politicians, and that the new Minister ought to have included in his Government members taken from the Liberal side of the House. As Mr. BOUVIERIE had already referred to Lord DERBY's failure in a similar experiment, he perhaps scarcely intended that his words should be literally construed. Those representatives of the old Whig or Tory traditions who survive the next election will

soon find that they are no longer one another's opponents. The political descendants of "Mr. Fox, Earl GREY, and Lord ALTHORP" will be forced to waive their natural superiority to the less virtuous caste which traces its descent to "Mr. PITT, the Duke of WELLINGTON, and Sir ROBERT PEEL."

For the present, amalgamation is premature, and the best service which Mr. DISRAELI can perform to his country is to proceed in his work of education. If he can persuade his party to accept the liberal policy against which he has assuredly no prejudice of his own, it is possible that he may receive support from the followers who won't follow Mr. GLADSTONE. There is no desirable measure against which the Conservatives are pledged as they were pledged and disposed to resist Parliamentary Reform; yet it is necessary to proceed with tact and caution, as many of the party are sore under the consciousness of inconsistency and of extreme docility to their daring instructor. On the whole, the chances are in favour of Mr. DISRAELI's continuance in office during the present Session. In the course of next week his Irish policy will be announced; and it is not improbable that Mr. GLADSTONE will proceed to introduce resolutions which will be equivalent to a vote of want of confidence in the Government. But it will be difficult to unite a majority, either in a party demonstration, or in the affirmation of any special Irish policy not embodied in a Bill. There is, for the moment, no general anxiety that there should be a change of Government, and Mr. DISRAELI is stronger, as his chief adversary is weaker, in the House of Commons than in the country. Impetuosity, irritability, and the habit of intellectual exaggeration are not even observed by the great body of those who admire Mr. GLADSTONE's earnestness and eloquence; and, on the other hand, the gifts which have raised Mr. DISRAELI to his high position can only be fully appreciated by personal observation. As it is impossible that Mr. GLADSTONE, even if he succeeded in ejecting Mr. DISRAELI from office, should carry any comprehensive measure during the present Session, it is not desirable that time should be wasted in a change of Government. Mr. MILL's revolutionary pamphlet will disincite the great majority of the House from refusing to consider any moderate Irish measure which the Government may propose.

IRELAND.

IN dealing with Ireland, England must show much courage and much patience; and perhaps, of the two, it is patience that is now most needed. If courage is necessary to apply bold remedies, supposing that they are really wanted, patience is indispensable that we may really understand the evils with which we have to deal, and the consequences of what we may do. To form a judgment on anything Irish is in the last degree difficult. The number of persons who are writing about Ireland now, and who profess to have studied the subject or to speak from personal experience, is very great, but nothing can be more chaotic than the state of opinion they indicate. No two writers agree about any facts or any conclusions; and there is only one thing which for the most part they have in common, and that is violence of language. But it is possible to reduce this mass of floating discordant opinion under certain heads, so that at least we may see what are the main questions for discussion when the future government of Ireland is the subject of debate. Putting aside those who are crying for the moon and aiming at the entire political separation of Ireland from England, theorists on Ireland may be divided into two great sections—those who wish to improve the present government of Ireland, but to retain all its main features; and those who think that Ireland ought to have some new sort of government quite unlike that which prevails there now, and very unlike that which prevails in England. The former think that Ireland ought to be ruled, as it is, by the Imperial Parliament, although they think that changes might advantageously be made in the system of representation, and that the State should do more in Ireland than it does here. They also think that the land system in Ireland is an excellent one, but that some provision should be made to recompense tenants for improvements, and they think that the Established Church should retain its endowments, but that they should be better distributed; and the more liberal section goes on to admit that Protestant Irish Bishops should not sit in the House of Lords, and that the State should offer to pay the priests out of the Consolidated Fund. The other grand division of writers on Irish affairs proceed on a totally different conception of what the government of Ireland should be. They say that

Ireland ought to be governed in accordance with the wishes of the large majority of Irishmen, and that arrangements alien to the feelings of the bulk of the natives of the soil should be set aside. Some of them think that the only change which, on this principle, it is really necessary to make, is to take away all, or a very large part, of the revenues of the Established Church. Others say that this is all very well, but that it is a trifle, and that what the Irish really care about is the land question, and that they want to be proprietors of the soil of the country in which they live. Others, again, say that neither the demolition of the Irish Church nor the remodelling of the existing land system would suffice, but that the nationality of Ireland must be restored, and that everything Irish shall be regulated, not by the Imperial Parliament, but by Irishmen having a special representation of their own. Ireland would not be separated from England, but it would be very much in the same relation to England in which Canada is; and it is quite obvious that, if this is the right thing to allow, we need not trouble ourselves about the Irish Church or the Irish land system, for the Irish would arrange those matters as they pleased. England need not have the responsibility of taking away their income from Protestant benefices, or the land from large landowners. The Irish would settle what, on those points, would best suit their own feelings and interests.

It appears to us of great importance that this fundamental difference in the way in which Irish politics are regarded should be kept steadily in view. The first question to be answered is whether the Irish are to be treated as a people apart, left, so far as the safety of the Empire permits, to regulate their own affairs, or are they to be looked on as a fraction of the total population of the British Isles. Supposing we are convinced that the Irish who happen to be alive and active at the present day wish for something radically foolish and injurious to them and to us, are we to let them have it because, as being a separate people, they are entitled to judge for themselves; or are we, as being wiser and stronger, to impose our views on them, and try to educate them with some degree of force into the attainment of greater enlightenment? This is a most troublesome question for Englishmen of the present day to answer, for it cuts across two sets of views or convictions, almost equally strong in their minds—the conviction that benevolent despotisms are always bad things, and the conviction that benevolent despotisms are sometimes very good things. But at any rate it is easy to see how much depends on the answer we give. A great amount of the criticism applied by one set of writers on Ireland as against another set of writers on Ireland is totally misapplied, because the critics set out from a set of principles quite opposite to those which the persons whom they criticize adopt. For example, when the proper tenure of land is in dispute, one set of writers enlarges on the great improvements which have taken place in the state of Ireland lately; and they urge that it is best to let well alone. They show that there is much more diffused wealth than there was, higher wages, greater produce, better houses, rents more punctually paid, an increasing desire on the part of landlords to do their duty, and, generally speaking, a growing material prosperity. When a man like Mr. MILL urges that tenants should be turned by the State into landlords, his critics, who are satisfied with the existing state of things, say that this would throw Ireland back into barbarism, make it poorer, get it into its old habit of breeding innumerable paupers, and involve it in utter ruin. But if Ireland is to be governed according to the wishes of the majority of the Irish, what has all this to do with the question? The Irish, if left to themselves, may find that small holdings are very bad things; but if they wish for small holdings they must have them, and take the consequences. It is surely conceivable that an Irish farmer should say that he makes as good a livelihood now as under any system he could hope to make, but that he does not like the feeling of living in a country where almost the whole soil is owned by aliens of a different race. Very few Englishmen would take double their existing income on the condition that England should be governed by Jesuits. There are feelings which are so painful, and colour the whole of life so deeply, that men will run considerable risks to their material welfare in order to escape from them. But it is extremely difficult for us who like the very things the Irish detest, or are said to detest—grandees and good farms and Protestantism—to put ourselves in the place of men who are not at all of our way of thinking. In the same way, those who support the Irish Church say—and we believe with perfect truth—that it does more good than is generally thought; for although in most rural parishes the Protestant clergyman has no opportunity

of offering his spiritual ministrations, yet he cheers the local society by wearing a tolerably good coat, and is a free purchaser of butter and eggs. They also point out that, if the Irish Church is sacrificed, no one will be really pleased, for there is sure to be most bitter fighting over the spoils, and Protestants and Catholics will hate one another, and be separated from one another, far more than is the case now. But if the feelings and wishes of the majority of Irishmen are to be the test of whether the Established Church is to stand or fall, it would probably be sacrificed, in spite of the loss it would entail and the dangers which would flow from it. It is, again, a question of feeling, and the feeling of the bulk of Irishmen as to the Established Church is, we fear, not favourable to its existence. Although, here and there, the peasants of a remote hamlet may like looking at the clergyman's coat, and may sell him eggs in the most friendly way, yet if they were asked whether they would, on the whole, like him to go away altogether, or to stay in his capacity of a representative of the dominant Church of a minority, they would, we hope, be very sorry to part with him, but they would make up their minds to see whether they could not bear his loss.

It might be, therefore, that if the wishes of the majority of Irishmen are to be taken as the guide to the future government of Ireland, the course before those who adopt this view would be very simple, because all they would have to do would be to let the Irish have their own way. But their path does not really lie so straight before them. For they limit their principle of leaving Ireland to the Irish by another principle, that Ireland is only to be left to the Irish so far as is compatible with the safety of England, and with the dignity and strength of the Imperial Parliament. And this limitation very soon creates a host of difficulties, and separates off into distinct sets those who all start from the same general principle. The Catholic priests who met at Limerick, it is true, saw no difficulty in reviving, as they called it, Irish nationality, because they thought it was not their business to ask how the Government of England could go on with an independent Government existing in Ireland. But most Englishmen shrink from running the great risk which they think is involved in having a separate Irish Government, for the obvious reason, among others, that if the two Governments quarrelled, which they easily might do, very nearly the same evils would have to be encountered that would arise were Ireland to set up for itself as an independent Power. This reluctance to let the Irish judge entirely for themselves what they shall do has led to a great variety of propositions, according as different writers think most of pleasing Ireland or of keeping England safe. Mr. BUTLER JOHNSTONE, for example, has published a pamphlet in which he urges that it would not be necessary to have a separate Parliament for Ireland, as the Irish members elected to serve in the Imperial Parliament might sit in the recess as an Irish Parliament, and have the exclusive control of everything affecting or relating to Ireland. He is sanguine enough to think that this would give rise to no practical difficulties, and that every one would easily agree as to what are Imperial questions and what are only of local and Irish import. The majority, however, even of advanced Liberals in England seem to recoil from the idea of giving Ireland any distinct legislative existence, and think that, though the wishes of the majority of Irishmen ought to be gratified, they ought to be gratified through the legislation of the Imperial Parliament, and in fact ought to be snubbed and thwarted so far as they are directed towards a separate nationality. Mr. MILL and Mr. BRIGHT are willing to do much in order to satisfy the wish of the Irish to get the soil of Ireland into the hands of persons in harmony with the religious and political feelings of the bulk of Irishmen. But the great mass of English landlords, both Liberal and Conservative, hold that any change in the land tenure of Ireland would be a source of great danger, social and political, to England, and therefore those among them who desire to gratify the wishes of the Irish at all can only see one direction in which practically this can be done without doing any patent and immediate harm to England. They can demolish the Irish Church. This section of politicians is now represented by Lord RUSSELL, and it certainly must be owned, by the friends of the Establishment, that it constitutes a very peculiar source of peril at present. There can be no doubt that there is a large and powerful section of English politicians who wish to please the Irish, but who can think of no other way of pleasing them without doing some sort of harm to themselves and their friends, except by making a fierce and immediate attack on the Church.

AMERICA.

THE Republican party in the American Congress finds that it is compelled, by a logical necessity, to adopt more and more exceptional measures as its successive experiments prove to be abortive. Having imposed numerous restraints on the constitutional power of the PRESIDENT, the majority would willingly have avoided the dangerous innovation of a political impeachment; but Mr. JOHNSON is an obstinate man, and he feels that he is defending the spirit of the Constitution against the encroachments of Congress. It is only of late that the right of the PRESIDENT to dismiss his Ministers has been called in question; nor has it ever before been doubted that the Executive authority was entirely independent of the Legislature. In dismissing Mr. STANTON, the PRESIDENT has clearly violated the Act of last Session, but he has kept within the limits of the Constitution as it has been universally understood and interpreted. Even if it is true that every Act of Congress must be considered valid until it is declared by the Supreme Court to be unconstitutional, the charge of high crimes and misdemeanours consisting in the dismissal of an insubordinate Minister seems to be absurdly frivolous. As the House of Representatives has thought fit to present articles of impeachment, the Senate, under the presidency of the CHIEF JUSTICE, must try the case. The American Constitution has in this respect closely followed English practice, although impeachments have at all times been the most unsatisfactory of legal processes. For more than sixty years the form of proceeding has, by general consent, been abandoned in England, and the Senate will not be a more competent tribunal than the House of Lords. The only penalties which can, in the event of a conviction, be imposed on the PRESIDENT are deposition, and disqualification from holding office in future. As it seems not improbable that Mr. JOHNSON may be selected as a candidate by the Democratic Convention in the approaching Presidential election, the Republicans perhaps hope to embarrass their adversaries by rendering him ineligible. It is surprising that they should fail to appreciate the inconvenience of a precedent which can at any time be followed by a majority. In substance, Mr. JOHNSON is impeached for differing from the dominant party in Congress, and the same course may be adopted against a Republican President whenever the balance of power is altered. If the Senate declines to enter into the constitutional character of the Act of Congress, it would seem that Mr. JOHNSON must be inevitably convicted. The great increase of the power of Congress may perhaps have been legitimate and necessary, for it is impossible to regulate the whole government of a great country for ever by the terms of any written document, but a criminal prosecution instituted by the innovating party against the chief adherent of the ancient doctrine is intrinsically harsh and unjust. The most important question which will be raised by the impeachment relates to the probable demand for the provisional suspension of the PRESIDENT from the exercise of his functions. The Constitution is silent on the subject, and suspension would seem to confer on the prosecutor the power of passing a severe sentence before the case has been heard by the proper tribunal; yet, if the majority in Congress insists on the suspension, it will be supported by the Commander-in-Chief, and, in case of need, by the army. According to the modern theory of American legislation, nothing would be easier than to pass an Act of Congress to provide for a case omitted by the framers of the Constitution.

The prospect of a Presidential election also accounts for the eagerness of the Republican party to complete the nominal restoration of the State of Alabama to the Union. It was provided by the Reconstruction Act, in accordance with general practice, that the State Constitutions to be framed by the Conventions should be accepted by a majority of the whole number of voters before they were returned to Congress for approval. It was hoped that the disfranchisement of the best part of the white population, and the extension of universal suffrage to the negroes, would ensure the enactment of Constitutions which would give the Republican party the control of the South. The Conventions have not disappointed the hopes of their promoters, but the white citizens of Alabama have rendered the Reconstruction Act inoperative by the simple and perfectly legal process of abstaining from voting on the acceptance of the Constitution. The leaders of Congress, irritated at the natural consequence of their own oversight, angrily denounce as a treasonable conspiracy the exercise of a right which the Act of Congress expressly recognised; and both Houses will probably pass a measure for admitting the State of Alabama under the Constitution which has been framed

by the Convention. The repeated necessity for patching and darning the Reconstruction Acts proceeds in part from legislative carelessness, but in the main it must be attributed to the inherent difficulty of a novel and paradoxical task. It is idle to expect the co-operation of the white inhabitants of the South in arrangements which are expressly designed to create and perpetuate negro supremacy. The Conventions have consisted of coloured men, of a few local adherents of the North who are despised by their neighbours as renegades, and of strangers whose recent arrival and lax connexion with the State is described by the ingenious nickname of "carpet-baggers." The abstinence of the registered citizens of Alabama from voting on the Constitution is much more important as a fact than the theoretical question whether their conduct was treasonable, or even factious. After the exclusion of all their natural leaders under the disfranchising Acts, not one in a hundred of the actual white voters appeared at the polls; and the most intelligent Republicans acknowledge that the measures of Congress have produced perfect unanimity among the white population. The malcontents will not be surprised to find that Congress effects by direct legislation the object which it had hoped to accomplish with the apparent consent of the State. The purpose of the dissentients has been attained by giving warning that the new Constitution is imposed by external force, and that, having no claim to the loyal support of the citizens of the State, it will be repealed on the earliest possible opportunity. If Alabama and the other States of the late Confederacy are admitted to return Presidential electors in next November, their votes will notoriously represent only the minority in each separate State. A year or two ago, the Republican leaders were anxious to postpone the readmission of the Southern States, in the natural expectation that they would support the Democratic candidate for the Presidency; but the change which has taken place in their policy proves that they are confident of packing the constituencies for their own purposes. It is for Americans to judge whether a possible Democratic majority in the Northern States will allow itself to be out-voted by a community which, under a free system of election, would undoubtedly increase its own strength. No thoughtful politician blames Congress for the irregularities and innovations which are inseparable from an essentially revolutionary undertaking; but the leaders of the dominant party seem never to have appreciated the difficulty of the task which they undertook. To create self-governing communities, and to prevent them from governing themselves according to their own pleasure, is a problem which can only be solved by an artificial distribution of internal power. An aristocracy may administer authority under the direction of an external protector, but a popular government can scarcely be maintained in opposition to the will of a majority which is also a superior race. The secession of 1861 may perhaps not prove to have been final, but after four years of war and three years of peace the internal rent has not been repaired.

There is less excuse for financial dishonesty than for the political miscarriages which have occurred in an embarrassing crisis. The most sagacious statesmen might have failed in the attempt to reconstruct the Union, but the United States are at least as well able as any country in the world to keep faith with the national creditor. The uncertainty which attaches to the American character for integrity is indicated by the price of securities which may be bought to pay an interest of between eight and nine per cent., while English Consols pay three and a quarter. The credit of Spain is, as measured by the infallible gauge of the money-market, somewhat better than that of the United States, although the Spanish Government is not generally considered a pattern of honesty. Capitalists were aware that nearly all the Northern States, with the respectable exception of Massachusetts, had defrauded their foreign and domestic creditors by paying off their debts in a depreciated paper currency; and it seemed not improbable that the same constituencies, in their Federal character, would be equally acute and unscrupulous. It is true that the better and sounder class of Americans strongly denounce the proposal of paying the principal of the Five-Twenty Bonds in greenbacks which may perhaps, on the expiration of the term, be worth only a fraction of their nominal value. Mr. M. D. CONWAY, in an article published a week ago in the *Fortnightly Review*, repudiates, on behalf of the Republican party, with excusable warmth of language, the charge of intended dishonesty, as unjust and malicious. By this time he has probably discovered that his anticipations were too sanguine, for the Financial Committee of the Senate has reported a Bill for reducing the interest from six to five per cent., in direct contravention of the express terms of the contract; and another Bill will probably be

passed for the partial repeal of the exemption of the bonds from State taxation. A late election for Congress in Ohio was determined in favour of the Republican candidate on his pledging himself to support the payment of the Five-Twenty Bonds in paper, and the Republican Convention of Indiana has formally included the same iniquitous scheme in its profession of political doctrine. It is wonderful that, after the experience of the most costly of recorded wars, supported almost exclusively by loans, a great nation should wilfully deprive itself of the power of borrowing on reasonable terms in future. Foreigners, unless they happen to hold American securities, have no reason for objecting to a measure which is at least involuntarily pacific in its tendency.

THE BLUE-BOOK ON ABYSSINIA.

A BLUE-BOOK, thicker and heavier even than most blue-books, has just been published, in which the whole history of the relations of England with Abyssinia is recorded. It is in the highest degree proper that this history should be published at the present moment, for its perusal shows, as nothing else could show, how it happens that an English army is now in Abyssinia, who is to blame or not to blame for the sad necessity which has led to its being sent there, and what are the chances on which our prospect of success depends. Any one who will wade through seven hundred folio pages of print in search of truth will be nearer to it than when he began to face the vast bulk of this blue-book. The impression which it produces is, we think, that although we have got into a sad scrape, and have adopted a most erroneous policy, there is no one point on which we can fix, and say that it was there things began to go wrong, and that the people who made them go wrong were distinctly and directly responsible. Lord RUSSELL, Mr. CAMERON, Mr. RASSAM may each have made mistakes; but when we read the history as a whole it seems as if these mistakes were mistakes which honourable and able men might naturally commit. It was not wrong to send a Consul to Abyssinia; it was not wrong in that Consul to make a journey on the confines of Abyssinia and Egypt, although he was on that account imprisoned by the miserable Emperor of ABYSSINIA; it was not wrong to send an envoy to try to get the Consul released; it was not wrong in that envoy to trust to the assurances of THEODORE, and place himself too in that ruffian's power. Every one of these steps was a mistake. If we are in any way bound to protect Consuls when they are appointed, it is a mistake to appoint them to any place the sovereigns of which cannot be coerced by an English fleet. If a Consul is a dignified traveller, by all means let him go and travel and enjoy his dignity wherever he likes, and wherever there is a chance of doing some good commensurate with his salary. But if he is an official whom England is bound to protect, he should only be allowed to go where England can protect him. This principle was not kept in view when Lord PALMERSTON originally sent a Consul to Abyssinia, but it was not kept in view because European nations have not exactly made up their minds whether they are or are not bound to protect Consuls. Mr. FLOWDEN, the first Consul sent to Abyssinia, was told to make Massowah his headquarters. There he was perfectly safe. If he had been robbed or murdered, an English man-of-war could have exacted summary and sufficient reparation. But he was also directed to go into the interior of Abyssinia, and conclude a treaty of commercial alliance with a certain Ras or deputy-governor then virtually holding supreme power. He obeyed, and the treaty was concluded. Supposing Lord PALMERSTON had been asked whether, if the Consul charged with this special mission had been robbed or murdered while performing it, was England bound to avenge his wrongs, he would probably have answered that the contingency was so remote, the fame of England so great, and the dread of her anger so overpowering, that the Consul practically ran no risk, and that therefore it was an idle waste of time to consider what should be done if any grievous injury was inflicted on him. It must be remembered that we did not stand alone in our dealings with Abyssinia. The French also had a Consul at Massowah. He also was imprisoned by THEODORE. Our Government asked the French Government what they intended to do, and M. DROUIN DE LUYSS replied that they would do nothing, because they could do nothing. There was much worldly wisdom in this, and the English Government, after Mr. CAMERON was imprisoned, never distinctly adopted the opposite principle. They never said that they were bound at all hazards to protect an English Consul. But they kept the question open. The notion

that the person of an English Consul was not to be considered inviolable in every part of the globe was one that they could not bear to face. And, let us own, they only shared in this the general feeling of their countrymen. The belief that the majesty of England pervaded the terrestrial globe at least, and perhaps went a little further, dominated the minds of all the contemporaries of Lord PALMERSTON. We may choose now to lay down a new principle. We may say, as it seems reasonable to say, that we will either only appoint Consuls where the power of England can be easily and directly brought to bear, or that, if we do send Consuls into inaccessible places, they go there entirely at their own risk. This seems to us a salutary rule, but let us acknowledge that it is a new rule, and that those who acted before it existed are not to be judged as if they could be aware of its existence.

Mr. CAMERON is himself in part responsible for the sad fate that has overtaken him. He left THEODORE, and, instead of going straight to Massowah, he went north-west of that port, and attempted to arrange some outstanding differences between the Abyssinians of those parts and the neighbouring Egyptian tribes. After having, as he thought, arranged the matter, he went round to the westward, fell into the power of THEODORE, and was imprisoned. Was he to blame for this, or was Lord RUSSELL, who was then Foreign Secretary, to blame for it? Lord RUSSELL was certainly not to blame for this, for, as soon as he heard of Mr. CAMERON's intention to make this tour in the northern parts of Abyssinia, he sent out positive orders to Mr. CAMERON to go to Massowah and stay there. Unfortunately, the despatches conveying this order only came into the hands of Mr. CAMERON when they were too late, as he had already fallen into the power of THEODORE. Was Mr. CAMERON, then, to blame? It is hard to say that he was, for he was only doing exactly what his predecessor Mr. PLOWDEN had done, with the sanction of Lord CLARENDON, in 1855. Mr. CAMERON stated that he had only interfered with the affairs of the Abyssinian borderers on Egypt, because Mr. PLOWDEN had taken them, with the permission of the Foreign Office, under British protection. And the correspondence of Mr. PLOWDEN with Lord CLARENDON justifies the assertion, "All the tribes and districts on the northern frontiers," Mr. PLOWDEN wrote in 1855, "sent deputies to request my 'protection from the Arabs tributary to Egypt.' And what was the reply of Mr. PLOWDEN? Did he reply that he was merely a Consul, and not even a Consul recognised in Abyssinia, that England had nothing whatever to do with the quarrels of Abyssinians and Arabs, and that he had as little authority as England had power or duty to protect the applicants? Not in the least. He was nursed in the old traditions of the Foreign Office. He was honestly imbued with the idea that any English official had jurisdiction in any part of the world, and that he had only to say what was right, and it must, as a matter of course, be done. He answered that they must first promise to reform their own predatory habits, and then he would protect them. He undertook, that is, in virtue of a sort of inherent divine right to judge the world in the capacity of an unrecognised British Consul, to promise one set of robbers that, if they left off robbing, some other robbers should no longer rob them; and this promise was to be performed in a wild country, practically inaccessible to English arms. Lord CLARENDON, however, seems to have thought this quite as natural as Mr. PLOWDEN himself did, and as Mr. CAMERON did some years later when he in his turn assumed the duty and the right to protect this particular set of robbers whom, in the exercise of a sublime caprice, it had pleased England to favour. At any rate we may hope to get one thing out of the present war. Henceforth the Foreign Office will, we suppose, teach its Consuls to take a totally different view of what they are asked and empowered to do. We shall give up the absurd practice of sending envoys, half officials, half unofficials, on roving expeditions to promote the interests of British commerce, and interfere in the quarrels of barbarians. The old theory on which English diplomacy was based is no longer tenable, and we must make up our minds to abandon it, although we need not judge harshly those who acted under its influence while it was still received as incontestable.

If the theory of the Foreign Office as to the man who was sent to rove about Abyssinia was wrong, so was its theory about the man to whom he was sent. This error was more especially the error of Lord RUSSELL. Probably he erred no more than other Foreign Secretaries would have erred, for all the successive heads of the Foreign Office have treated Abyssinia in the same way. They have all been pervaded with the double feeling of a wish to push forward English commerce and

English influence on the one hand, and, on the other, of a hearty contempt for the rude creatures with whom they pretended to go through the solemn farce of instituting diplomatic relations. THEODORE could not see things quite in the same way. If England and France courted his friendship, then he must be a sovereign entitled to address the sovereigns of England and France on the common level of royalty. He wrote to the QUEEN and to the EMPEROR, to explain what a great man he was, and what a fine thing it would be for the great Christian Powers to join him in a crusade against Mahometanism generally, and against Egypt in particular. The Foreign Office treated his letter with the most profound contempt. Who was THEODORE, that he should be writing to the QUEEN, and giving endless trouble to a variety of snug English officials? Accordingly his letter remained for a year entirely unnoticed. It was treated as waste paper, and thrown aside as the missive of a savage who could practically do us neither good nor harm. But THEODORE took a higher view of himself and his position. He seized on the English Consul, and held him prisoner until the reply from the QUEEN should arrive. This bold measure entirely succeeded. The Foreign Office got frightened, and answered his letters in a very cordial and humble manner. The QUEEN herself was advised to write to him, and he thus gained an honour by behaving badly which he never would have obtained by behaving well. Unfortunately, his barbarous mind was not so much pleased with the letter he received as with the thought that he had suddenly discovered the road to success. He had got this letter by imprisoning Mr. CAMERON, and he might hope for a good deal more if, instead of releasing him, he continued to detain him. He judged rightly. When the news reached England that Mr. CAMERON was still in prison, it was decided that a letter would never do, and that a Special Envoy must be sent. The choice fell on Mr. RASSAM; and, even if the appointment of an envoy in so humble a position seems now an error, it is evident that THEODORE himself found no fault with Mr. RASSAM on account of his insignificance, and that Mr. RASSAM showed considerable judgment and courage in the conduct of the affair. Ultimately THEODORE seized on Mr. RASSAM, calculating, apparently, that as he had got hold of a bigger man than Mr. CAMERON by seizing a Consul, so he should get hold of a still bigger man than Mr. RASSAM if he seized on a Special Envoy. In fact, this audacious savage had come to the conclusion, not only that the pretensions of minor English officials to govern the world were nonsensical, but that England might be successfully bullied if any one would try the experiment. We have had to make an immense effort to try to convince him of his mistake; but the moral of the whole story is, that his mistake arose from his very justifiable conviction that the claims of English officials were carried far beyond anything warranted by the real circumstances of their position.

THE PREMIERSHIP WON AND LOST.

THE elevation of Mr. DISRAELI to the first place in the first constitutional Government of the world has, of course, given rise to many homilies. It is just as easy to construct a panegyric as to compose a philippic on the new PREMIER's career; and it is not necessary for us to relapse into a despairing cynicism, and to deny that political virtue and vice have any substantial existence, if we confess that there is much truth and as much falsehood both in the eulogies and the invectives to which he has been subjected. No doubt there is something engaging, if not almost noble, in the contemplation of a strong plebeian intellect and will steadily forecasting a distant and difficult end, conquering social difficulties, and living down disqualifications of birth, fortune, and race, gathering secret strength from humiliating failure, and, by a dexterous combination of suppleness and audacity, moulding like paste a fierce hereditary aristocracy into the passive instruments of personal ambition. As there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, so there is, at least now and then, but a single stage from the ridiculous to the sublime. Such a career as Mr. DISRAELI's, had it not ended in triumph, would have been a good joke; as it is, the success spoils the satire which treats of this wondrous tale of adventure. What was once severely said of the possible design of Providence in conniving at the prosperity of the wicked in order to give a forcible illustration of the small value of wealth may, by the malevolent, be transferred to political distinction, and those who hate Mr. DISRAELI may see "in his rise to unexampled prosperity a conspicuous proof and example of how small

"estimation is" mere success "in the sight of God, by bestowing it on the most unworthy of all" statesmen. But the occasion scarcely justifies these virtuous heroics. Mr. DISRAELI is neither so much above nor so much below precedent or rule. He is simply a very clever person, employing his cleverness often to create, and always to use, great opportunities. His specialty, as the saying is, consists in not being too clever, or rather his gift is in discovering and realizing the exact point at which his cleverness is just beginning to run away with him. There have been epochs in his career when he was on the very verge of destroying his own influence and of fatally ruining his chances for ever; but he had the rare power of seeing this as well as bystanders, and his masterly retreats from himself, and his manœuvres in the face of his own blunders, are, in a certain sense, the most remarkable features of his political strategy. Mr. DISRAELI may often have been an enigma to most people; but there has always been one who understood him, and that was Mr. DISRAELI. When he failed in the House of Commons, and ventured upon the insolence of prophesying his own success; when he measured swords, or rather exchanged ribaldry, with O'CONNELL; when he ventured on the measureless audacity of affecting to persuade a great party, as well as Lord GEORGE BENTINCK himself, that that great racing man was a statesman; when he selfishly took advantage of the exasperation of the Conservative landowners to make a position for himself by ceaselessly worrying and insulting Sir ROBERT PEEL; even when he soared to the sublime—boast shall it be termed, or confession?—that for eight long years he had been a secret convert to the doctrine of household suffrage, and that he and his chief colleague had during that period been privately and secretly educating their party into accepting a policy which all the time they were publicly denouncing as the wildest frenzy of revolution—in each and every one of these perilous phases of his career Mr. DISRAELI knew himself. And to know yourself is a quality which experience does not find in the nethermost hell, though we may question the poet's saying about its necessary descent from heaven.

To know oneself is the surest way to know other people, and, from the most intimate experience of Mr. DISRAELI, Mr. DISRAELI has gained a very large insight into everybody else. The present PREMIER managed his party because he had acquired the art of managing himself. It is in the study of man, as in comparative anatomy. Given a bone, and an expert can build up a skeleton. Given a whole and entire man, and you have humanity. There are, of course, faultless monsters and exceptional varieties of character, tending here and there to an excess as of virtue so of vice—impracticable and consistent men, CRANBORNES and CARNARVONS, LOWES and ROEBUCKS—defiant men, fanatics or fools, who believe in definite opinions, traditions, conclusions, convictions, moralities, ethical principles, eternal verities, and that sort of thing, or even in party straightforwardness and fidelity; but Mr. DISRAELI knows that the world is not made up of these characters. And he has had sufficient strength of mind to act upon his knowledge. This is not given to every man. It may be doubted whether SWIFT himself surpassed the present PREMIER in his scornful estimate of human nature; and at any rate it may be reasonably questioned whether, even if SWIFT had had the chance, he would have treated the human race as according to his convictions, that is, *ex hypothesi*, he ought to have treated it. Misgivings of this sort are fatal to a practical man, and the FIRST LORD of the TREASURY is a very practical man. It only remains to see whether, as has happened before, success will not generate too much sense of security. Mr. DISRAELI can hardly improve, or, we might say, keep up, the superb audacity of his avowal that he, the great Tory leader, had for nearly a decade of years been educating his party into the doctrines of the Charter. Even worms may turn, especially if those who tread on them are so very fond, as Mr. DISRAELI is, of assuring worms of their vermicular nature. When a practised dissembler declines or forgets to dissemble, the evil eye may be beginning to do its work. It was when HAMAN went forth joyful and with a glad heart, and sat down to banquet with the King and Queen, that his fall was close at hand. We are not concerned, however, with soothsaying or omens, but with the day, and its sufficient good or evil.

If we wish really to understand Mr. DISRAELI, we shall be helped by a contemplation of the career of his great rival, the leader of the Opposition. PLUTARCH's work loses half its value because it is constructed on a false principle. Parallels are not half so valuable as contrasts in biography. While Mr. DISRAELI has risen to the Premiership from a solicitor's

dinky office in the Old Jewry, it is instructive to look at Mr. GLADSTONE, who has only managed, in spite or by virtue of his education at Eton and Oxford, to show that the most brilliant gifts of nature, and the most convenient and fortunate adaptation of opportunities, can command failure with a uniformity as admirable as his great rival's success. Is all this to be attributed to a law? if so, it is a melancholy one. Or to circumstances? if so, they are instructive and memorable enough. It would almost seem that Mr. GLADSTONE has as accurately forecast consequences, and has as nicely adjusted means to ends, as Mr. DISRAELI. Only in the one case the calculation was to win, in the other to lose. There is nothing that both Mr. DISRAELI and Mr. GLADSTONE have not with equal skill and pertinacity moulded to their several ends of life; only in the one case it was to succeed, in the other to fail. Each has managed, with admirable felicity, to frustrate and disappoint great expectations. Mr. GLADSTONE was born in the very purple of political life. He was dedicated almost from birth to the service of his country. He entered into public life under the most favourable auspices. MARCELLUS was saluted on the sixth form. While his rival was floundering through the bog of social and literary Bohemianism, the silver swan of the future was sailing on the clear and placid stream of the noblest of human careers—his country's service—and composing learned treatises seasoned with the purest Academical salt. Are we to despair of human kind, and to say that the most fatal of gifts is to have a conscience, and to close with the disgusting conclusion that Mr. GLADSTONE is where he is only because he is too proud and too noble for the courses of this common, everyday, *toutos kosmos* world? We should be loth to say so. And yet the facts are impressive enough. To take only the decisive and crucial events in the lives of these two distinguished men. A very curious work has just been published, to which is attached the name of Mr. HOMERSHAM COX, under the title of a *History of the Reform Bills of 1866 and 1867*. It might with more significance have been called "An Apology for Mr. GLADSTONE'S Policy." The concluding sentence is very remarkable, we had almost said touching. "Of the forty-three clauses of the Bill introduced by Mr. DISRAELI 'at the beginning of last Session, twenty-one were subsequently omitted, or materially altered. Of the twenty-two 'which have been retained unaltered, eighteen have been 'taken from Mr. GLADSTONE'S Franchise Bill of 1866. The 'clauses which are exclusively the work of the Conservative 'Government are four—namely, clause 1. The title; clause 8. 'The disfranchisement of Reigate and three other boroughs; 'clause 36. The penalty for corrupt payment of rates; clause '38. Temporary provision respecting the registers of divided 'counties and boroughs.' And yet, in spite, or by virtue, of such a fact, Mr. DISRAELI is Prime Minister, and Mr. GLADSTONE, for about the twentieth time, it is hoped may reconstruct the Liberal party, which, nineteen times in succession, he has managed to dissolve. For it is not as a mere illustration of the old fate of virtue, *tulit alter honores*, that the significance of the two lives consists. It would be a shallow and incomplete account of the matter to say that the difference is this, that Mr. DISRAELI has an accommodating temper, and that Mr. GLADSTONE has not; that the present Prime Minister has acquired the art of managing a party, while Mr. GLADSTONE is equally felicitous in mis-managing one. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. When Mr. GLADSTONE, in the person of his apologist, narrates the unfortunate history of his own Reform Bill; when he expatiates with lively pathos and incontrovertible truth on the fact, accepted on all sides, that the GLADSTONE Bill was not half so revolutionary as the DERBY-DISRAELI Act; when everybody now sees that the hard and fast line of Mr. GLADSTONE was the only safeguard against what we have now got, which is even a terror to Mr. BRIGHT, this defence of Mr. GLADSTONE is his most serious inculpation. Everybody has a right to ask, why, if this is so, did not Mr. GLADSTONE succeed when in office? How comes it that his only fortune has been to disintegrate his party, to alienate friends and allies, and to strengthen his enemies? To charge Mr. GLADSTONE with a monopoly of principle and candour and conscience and honour, and to say that the world can only be managed by trickery, is to talk nonsense; and to charge Mr. GLADSTONE's failure on mere faults of temper is to invent an inadequate reason for the fact. The real lesson is, that Mr. GLADSTONE is, and we fear ever will be, incapable of availing himself of, because he cannot enter into or comprehend, the political mind. Mr. GLADSTONE is not a statesman; Mr. DISRAELI is, though of a very low order. The thing statesmanship is not in Mr. GLADSTONE. He suffers under a sort of colour blindness; or, rather, he lacks the faculty of seeing

more than one thing at a time. He is deficient in the power of estimating relative distance and proportion. Mr. GLADSTONE sees duty and principle just as scenery is projected in a tropical atmosphere—clear, distinct, and palpable, but without any aerial perspective; or, to speak more vulgarly, he sees no further than his nose. Mr. DISRAELI, on the other hand, sees everything so very far off, and in combination with everything else possible and impossible, that in fact he is apt to see nothing of the present; he does not even see truth itself, because everything is so mixed up and melts into such complete evanescence that matter of fact is lost to him. He lacks the faculty of appreciating or of appropriating fact. This was, we could venture to say, not the case with CATO or ARISTIDES, or zealots or bores of that sort. But then they got ostracized and proscribed, or at least were voted austere and impracticable. They would never have occupied the official residence in Downing Street; and when Mr. GLADSTONE does, we fear it will be as a traveller whose sojourn is for a single day. If Mr. GLADSTONE is too great for the world, his fortunate rival must be credited with the fullest sympathy and congeniality for its littleness.

PRUSSIA.

THE King of PRUSSIA'S Speech on closing the Session of Parliament is one of the most cheerful of State Papers. Many important problems are said to have been solved, or to be in course of satisfactory solution; and the KING might have added that the most difficult problem was the re-establishment of harmony between the Government and the House of Deputies. The Civil List has been increased, and the Budget, which for several years was adopted only by an irregular exercise of prerogative, has been duly sanctioned by Parliament. The vote of large indemnities to the de-throned Sovereigns of Hanover and Nassau was passed with some reluctance, in deference to the assurances of the Minister that such a grant was politically expedient. Probably the personal wishes of the KING may have stimulated the more calculating liberality of the Government; and it is remarkable that the Royal Speech contains no reference to recent events which seem to falsify the Ministerial arguments and predictions. There was much plausibility in Count BISMARCK'S assertion that rich pretenders are more harmless than poor pretenders, especially when their wealth is within the reach of the reigning dynasty; yet the grant of a great apanage has not restrained King GEORGE of Hanover from expressing, both in words and in acts, his persistent hope of restoration. Except to the feverish imagination of an exile, the re-establishment of the little kingdom of Hanover seems the most improbable of political contingencies. The State was always, in a military sense, at the mercy of Prussia; and it owed its continued existence exclusively to respect for the right of possession. As the annexation has not been followed by a protest from any foreign Power, while the inhabitants, even if they were unanimous, are wholly unable to resist the Prussian Government, the fulfilment of King GEORGE'S aspirations must be postponed to the epoch of voluntary repentance on the part of the Prussian King and people. A kind of regret is naturally suggested by the expropriation of the oldest among the historical families of Europe, but the enormous benefits which are to be expected from even the partial union of Germany far outweigh sentimental considerations of pity for kings reduced to a private station. If a country which ought to have one, or at most two, Governments is divided among six-and-thirty sovereign princes, it is evident that the public interests are incompatible with the maintenance of the dynasties. The process of union and of mediatization will inevitably be repeated, not without painful suffering on the part of the dispossessed princes. Private persons can, perhaps, not fully appreciate the difficulty with which a semi-divine caste adapts itself, under compulsion, to the ordinary conditions of humanity.

As the King of HANOVER was not asked for any pledge of submission in return for the liberal grant of the Prussian Parliament, he would have shown better taste and sounder judgment in abstaining from empty reclamations of his abolished rights. The regiment of Hanoverian volunteers which lately passed from Switzerland into France have incurred banishment and outlawry, without having had an opportunity of performing the smallest service to their former sovereign. The organization of a few hundreds of men to resist the Prussian army was a childish exhibition of ill-humour; nor was the ostentatious celebration of the ex-KING'S birthday at Hietzing a wise or dignified demonstration. If Hanover had been conquered by a really foreign Power, an

almost hopeless protest against usurpation might have ultimately led to useful results; but every German knows that, although Hanover has hitherto stood apart from Prussia, both States were part of Germany. A conspiracy against the present Government is treasonable in substance as well as in form, because it necessarily assumes the intervention of an alien Power in the affairs of Germany. Before the KING indulged in the gratification of his feelings of resentment or regret, he ought to have remembered that he was defying an irresistible adversary who was not disposed to excessive toleration. Although the grant to the King of HANOVER has not been repealed, Count BISMARCK has already announced the intention of the Government to take full precautions against the application of the money to treasonable purposes. The fund will probably be sequestered as long as the King of HANOVER persists in his contumacy; and it is understood that prosecutions will be instituted against some of the principal performers in the Hietzing celebration, and that the impunity which may be accorded to fallen royalty will not be extended to rebellious subjects of the Prussian Crown. It would have been more generous in the KING to disband his faithful followers than to maintain a sect of Hanoverian Jacobites, which cannot even hope for a 1715 or a 1745. The blunder of adhering to the weaker party in 1866 was not perhaps morally culpable, but it is more to the purpose to remember that it was fatal and irrevocable. Patriotic Germans would have regretted a more prudent decision, because a Hanoverian alliance with Prussia must necessarily have been rewarded by a prolongation of provincial independence. The King of HANOVER had not even taken the precaution of securing the foreign intervention which preserved Saxony from total extinction. Although loyalty to a fallen Sovereign may be disinterested and graceful, it is seldom compatible with public duty. A Frenchman remains a Frenchman, and a German a German, through all changes of Constitution and dynasty. Courtiers and nobles have no right to separate their interests from the public fortune; nor is there any reason to suppose that the general population of Hanover is disaffected to the great monarchy in which the former State is absorbed. The Parliament has passed a Government Bill for appropriating to the use of the province a large portion of the revenue which it contributes to the Treasury; and it appears that a measure which was originally designed to smooth the transition from independence will serve as a precedent for other portions of the kingdom.

The paragraph of the KING'S Speech which records the friendly relations of Prussia with foreign Powers is probably more than a common or conventional form of language. There is no longer any pretext for a quarrel between France and Germany; nor is it probable that the experiment of the Luxembourg purchase will be repeated. It has been often and truly said that France was, more than any other nation, interested in the union of Germany, because it was better that aggressive schemes should be visibly impracticable than that they should be encouraged by the apparent divisions and weakness of a neighbour. The French MINISTER of WAR declared a few days ago in the Senate that peace was for the present secured, because France was by two years ahead of any other Power in the armament and organization of the national forces. It is possible that his expectations may be both sincere and well founded, for French feeling will be less susceptible when the country believes itself to be fully prepared for war. Yet even if it is true that the achievements of the needle-gun are eclipsed by the wonders of the Chassepot rifle, French statesmen fully understand that a war with Germany could not lead to any territorial conquest. The dream of a Bavarian alliance has long since been renounced, and the Austrian Red-book records the resolution of the present Minister to abstain from all embarrassing engagements. The Prussian Government has probably satisfied itself that Baron BEUST is not personally answerable for the facilities offered by the Austrian police to the Hanoverian volunteers. A new comer and reformer, unconnected with the old governing families of Austria, is necessarily subject to the annoyance of occasional insubordination; and if the Austrian Government had entertained hostile intentions to Prussia, it would not have confined itself to a formal and harmless affront.

If the language of the King of Prussia'S Speech has any definite meaning, it may be understood as a confirmation of the general belief that the prospects of peace have improved in the East. As the Russian Government had during the last year been openly threatening Turkey with insurrection, and consequent invasion, it was of the utmost importance that the Great Powers of Europe should interfere to prevent a

wanton commencement of disturbances which might lead to a general war. The French Government, after coquetting with Russia as long as there seemed to be a chance of a German war, finally reverted to the normal policy of discouraging the dismemberment of Turkey. There could be no doubt of the opposition of England to Russian encroachment; and Baron BEUST, although at one time he inclined to support the Russian demands, refused to sign the joint Note which was addressed to the Porte by four Powers acting under Russian inspiration. It is uncertain whether Russia would have persevered in her policy of spoliation in defiance of England, France, and Austria; but any immediate aggression was necessarily prevented by the accession of Prussia to the policy of Western Europe. It is understood that the Prussian Government has warned the Prince of SERBIA of the dangers which he may incur as the instrument of Russian ambition, and probably the Prince of the Rouman Provinces may defer to the counsels of the head of his family. When the jealousy between Prussia and Austria has had time finally to subside, no German statesman will tolerate the extension of Russian dominion over the Lower Danube; and the events of 1866, which have effectually secured peace in the West, may probably operate as a check on the restless desire of Russia for aggrandizement. At present, Prussia, in addition to many other elements of felicity, appears to enjoy perfect political concord at home, and confident security abroad. The Liberal Opposition of former times perhaps thinks that it is better not to attack for the present a Government which is engaged in consolidating the organization of the enlarged monarchy.

THE FENIAN TRIALS IN SLIGO.

IT cannot be denied that there was material for the excitement which the trial of "Colonel" NAGLE caused at the Sligo assizes, though we cannot commend the purposes to which some persons have attempted to turn that excitement. There was an American Colonel actually in the clutches of the police, charged with an attempt to upset the Government of this country; there were the natural attempts of his counsel to raise substantial reasons against his being tried at all; and there was the application for a mixed jury, with the impossibility of finding one. Moreover, there were questions of professional etiquette, and the prosecutions were nearly lapsing for want of counsel to conduct them. That there might be no lull in the excitement so long as the proceedings lasted, Mr. TRAIN got a member of the Irish Bar to obtrude upon the Court his claims to sit as a juror. Then he wrote to the High Sheriff a letter beginning "Dear Sir," and the High Sheriff sent a polite refusal in a letter equally considerate, which also began "Dear Sir"; and this gave Mr. TRAIN the opportunity for a little "high falutin'" about American citizens. Then, to cap the climax worthily, Mr. TRAIN was spirited away at Dublin by a sheriff's officer. Eventually it was found impossible to get the requisite proportion of foreign jurors, so the trial was postponed. For a somewhat similar reason, the trial of another prisoner, NUGENT, was also postponed. In all this there was nothing very unusual or noteworthy. A case of this kind ought to be conducted with the strictest regard, not only to the requirements of substantial justice, but also to the forms of established precedent. To secure the seemingly procedure of a criminal investigation, both delay and inconvenience must be encountered, and it would be easy to understand men who expressed satisfaction that no unseemly haste or rancour had been exhibited in bringing a political and alien enemy before the Court. But this is not the sentiment in which journalists and publicists have thought proper to indulge. No sooner are these trials postponed than off they go into a fit of hysterical delight at a delay which may ultimately prove to be a discontinuance of all proceedings whatever against the prisoner. Such a feeling is, to our minds, as senseless as its expression is ill timed and undignified.

First, as to the jury *de medietate lingue*. It ought never to be forgotten that in criminal proceedings this has been a merciful concession *ex abundantia*, not a law founded on international compact. The original "Staple Statute" of EDWARD III., in giving this privilege, intended it to be applied to civil actions brought or defended by foreign merchants resident in England. The obvious object was to encourage foreign traders to come to England, by the assurance that in legal proceedings they should be heard by jurors half of whom at least understood their language. A law intended originally for the benefit of parties to civil actions has subsequently been extended to the case of prisoners arraigned on criminal

charges. And it is a question in the minds of many whether this privilege is not antagonistic to the ends of justice. In the case of an American, there is a *prima facie* absurdity about it which is insurmountable. Except on the hypothesis that the Americans do not speak the English language, it is impossible to advocate the concession of a privilege which owes its origin to the difficulty experienced by aliens who were arraigned under a code, and tried by men, of whose language they knew nothing. Every one concerned in NAGLE's trial, from the officers of the Crown to the prisoner's friends, seemed to think that the meaning of this privilege was to give a foreign prisoner a better chance of escape, by securing the attendance of compatriot jurors who might in effect prejudge his innocence or sympathize with his guilt. Should this opinion ever become general, it would afford good grounds for a radical abolition of the existing practice. If we are destined to witness a great multiplication of American prisoners in our criminal courts, the unreasonableness and the inconvenience of trying them in the presence of sympathetic countrymen will become apparent to the most obstinate liberalism. But the sentiment of which we are speaking does not confine itself to an exaggerated love of a time-honoured usage. It finds vent in the expression of a wish, more or less tinged with alarm, that all the proceedings in this and every similar case may be abandoned at once. The pretext which is assigned for this expression, so far as its meaning can be extracted out of a cloud of ambiguities, seems to be that these cases are very difficult of proof, and that it would be unwise to prosecute them against aliens. A weaker reason than this could hardly be imagined. It is a valid reason for diligent preparation, but no reason for an utter abandonment of the prosecution. Probably there may be difficulties in getting the requisite proof, and of these difficulties the prisoner's counsel will avail himself at the proper time. But these difficulties constitute no sufficient grounds for allowing either NAGLE or NUGENT to go untried. If there is sufficient *prima facie* evidence to show that an expedition was equipped in America for the purpose of fomenting an insurrection in Ireland, and that NAGLE or NUGENT took part in this expedition, and that they did any act in furtherance of this project within the jurisdiction of the English Crown, then there are valid reasons for proceeding with this trial. In every prosecution of this nature there are difficulties. It is always more or less difficult to prove a conspiracy, whether it be of a treasonable or of a filibustering character. It is always more or less difficult to prove seditious or treasonable intent. But still these things are proved when once the Crown officers set about it rightly. Nor does the fact of being an alien enhance the difficulty very much. What did the *Jacknell* come to Ireland for? What were the plans laid by her officers and men in New York? What was their conduct when their vessel was first boarded by a pilot off the Irish coast? What did the pilot and others hear them saying? What was their correspondence with Fenians in Ireland? Let any one overt act of a questionable kind on Irish soil or within the territorial jurisdiction be proved, and it will be sufficient to bring the evidence of words spoken or letters written in America to show the intent of the acts committed in Ireland.

As to other considerations beside those of legal practice and precedent, it is useless to notice them. The first duty of a Government is self-preservation. It is bound to protect itself in order that it may protect its own subjects. And if it is bound to protect itself against the ill-considered and eccentric attacks of its own subjects, it is more cogently bound to protect itself against the attacks of aliens conspiring with its own subjects. No question of international law or international comity is involved in the principle of self-defence, although it may be involved in some of the details of the measures taken to vindicate it. For instance, the proof would be more simple and easy if NAGLE were a native-born Irishman, not naturalized in a foreign country, and if he had on board an English vessel concocted a conspiracy against the Government of his native country. But the difference of nationality, however much it may affect the details of the procedure or the character of the testimony, cannot affect the principle of self-vindication. Every Sovereign State is recognised as competent to frame the laws of its own internal self-government. It may define what it chooses to define as acts of treason or sedition on the part of its own subjects. Whatever its definition of these offences may be, it must include acts of the same kind committed by foreigners within its limits. No independent State has hitherto waived the right of defining offences and punishments in favour of any other State, nor, so far as we are aware, has any State, however powerful it might be, arrogated the right of exerting on behalf of its own subjects, when once within the territory of a friendly nation, privileges

greater than those enjoyed by the citizens of that nation. Certainly no State has ever claimed that its subjects, when caught plotting or arming against the Government of any foreign country in which they are resident, should be entitled to a special and exceptional impunity. We have no reason to believe that the Government of the United States is disposed to claim powers beyond those of other civilized nations. Yet those who propose to conciliate the Americans by waiving the prosecution of NAGLE and others, do, in fact, imply that the United States consider it the peculiar privilege of their citizens to excite revolutions in foreign countries with complete impunity. No supposition could be imagined more uncomplimentary to Americans, or more remote from truth. The leading jurists and statesmen—we take no account of the rowdy politicians or rowdy spouters—of the Republic have a very precise notion of international rights and duties, and would be immeasurably disgusted at a proffer of impunity, suggested by a belief in their own loose political ethics. They know that they would not have hesitated themselves to bring before their own tribunals, and to punish with the utmost rigour of their own municipal law, any Englishman who was found within the limits of the Union plotting against its safety or integrity. They would regard any attempt to conciliate the countrymen of such a conspirator, by conniving at his immunity from persecution, as a gross and ignominious treason to the Republic. And what they would unhesitatingly do in their own case, they expect us to do in ours.

The fact is, that the normal condition of America and Americans is one of excitement. Their social and political constitution imposes this as the rule of their being. Every great question is agitated and discussed by the illiterate, the unreflective, the passionate, and the prejudiced before and after it is taken up by men of sober thoughts and unimpassioned judgment. Among the masses there is a large and powerful, though hardly a predominant, Irish element. This is sufficient to infuse and stir a bitter ingredient of anti-English feeling in every question of foreign policy. This necessitates a certain kind of overt homage to popular prejudice on the part of even the most enlightened American statesmen. But it does not follow that even the most reckless or the least intelligent of them should deliberately support a proposition which, once avowed, would be fatal to their own security. We in England hear much more of the noise of American passion than we do of the still small voice of American judgment. The Irish are powerful, but not all-powerful; certainly not powerful enough to induce the American Congress to approve the principle that an alien, when caught plotting treason on the soil of a friendly nation, ought to be exempt from the operation of its laws. Even supposing (what is indeed a very wild supposition) that an Irish insurrection would, under favouring circumstances, receive the countenance of the Government or the more intelligent classes of the United States, it is plain that the preliminary condition is not yet realized. The Union is still far too disintegrated, sectional animosities are far too rife, and the rancours of civil strife far too lasting, to admit of an American league with Fenian filibusters. Nor should another great safeguard and guarantee of peace be forgotten. The Irish may be used very much, but they are very little liked, even by the most rowdy of American politicians. They do very well to play off against domestic factions or against other foreign elements, but they inspire no national sympathy, and will gain no national support. On no grounds, therefore, either of internal harmony or foreign estimation will it be expedient to relax the hold of the law on Fenian sympathizers, even when they are American citizens. No people on the earth practise self-respect more, or more honour self-respect, whether displayed by individuals or communities, than do the Americans; and nothing is so likely to inspire them with contempt for another nation as any indication that it is wanting in self-respect and is indifferent to its own honour. Let the Government proceed calmly and dispassionately with its prosecution of all who, of whatever country, attempted to foment sedition and treason on British soil, and in the end it will have the sympathies of all independent Americans.

RAILWAY COMPANIES.

NEARLY all the half-yearly Railway meetings have now been held, and the results on the dividend-paying lines are not unsatisfactory. The London and North-Western, the London and South-Western, the Great Northern, the Midland, the North-Eastern, the Caledonian, the Glasgow and South-Western, the Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the South-

Eastern Companies, holding among them more than a hundred and eighty millions of capital, after providing interest and dividend on all debentures and preference shares, have paid an average dividend of more than five per cent. on their ordinary stock. On the other hand, the North British, the Great Eastern, the London, Chatham, and Dover, and the Brighton Companies have declared no dividend, and in some instances are unable to meet their fixed charges. The Great Western Company has a small surplus available for dividend; but it has been found necessary to apply the revenue to the discharge of floating debts, and legal difficulties have, for the present, prevented the Directors from recouping the revenue account. But for the misfortune of the double gauge, the future prospects of the Great Western would be highly encouraging, for the unusually large proportion of fixed charges would secure to the original shareholders the entire benefit of any increase of traffic. Until a certain class of shareholders conferred on the Company the blessing of an injunction to restrain the issue of stock in lieu of dividend, the deferred dividend warrants of the Company were saleable almost at par. The success of a Bill legalizing the issue of stock to repay advances from revenue is endangered by the formidable opposition of LORD REDESDALE, who insists that the preference shareholders are injured by receiving stock at a discount instead of being entirely deprived of their income. It would perhaps be prudent to conciliate a critic who, rightly or wrongly, can almost exercise a veto on legislation, by some clause which would ensure the payment of the preference dividends in full. The Great Eastern Company is still burdened with a heavy floating debt, and the new Board of Directors has profited by the general state of despondency to transfer to the revenue account some of the charges which properly fall upon capital. The Chairman of the Brighton Board, taking advantage of a similar state of circumstances, has persuaded his shareholders to accept the same erroneous theory. It is only in moments of panic that experiments are tried which are uniformly repudiated by flourishing Companies.

The ordinary shareholders of the London, Chatham, and Dover Company deserve little compassion, as they have, with some insignificant exceptions, bought their stock within two years at a discount of more than seventy per cent. The debenture-holders, and certain classes of privileged shareholders who claim to rank as creditors, have more reason to be dissatisfied; but it would appear, from the prices of their securities in the Share-list, that they have not improved their position by a preposterous claim of six millions against the estate of the bankrupt contractors, or by their resistance to the payment of debts due to two money-lending Companies to the amount of nearly 300,000*l.* Both the Imperial Mercantile Credit Association and the General Credit Company advanced the money in the first instance to Sir MORTON PERO; but it would seem that the Chatham Directors made the Company liable either as sureties or as principals, and the lenders forcibly contend that they have nothing to do with the relations between the Railway Company and the contractors, who were also its financial agents. It was in reference to the singular transactions connected with these loans that during the last Session Mr. DISRAELI and Mr. GLADSTONE thought fit to deliver, in the House of Commons, eloquent eulogiums on the character and conduct of Sir MORTON PERO. The gross revenue of the Chatham Company is improving, and the omnibus traffic on the Metropolitan lines will be extremely profitable; but it may be doubted whether the mileage is large enough to allow of the almost unlimited elasticity of the greater railway systems. To those who are unacquainted with the mysteries of the Share-market it seems surprising that the ordinary stock should be saleable, even at a reduction of more than eighty per cent. on its nominal value. Much of the litigation which forms a heavy burden on the resources of the Company is unavoidable, as it is indispensably necessary to settle the respective priorities of seven or eight classes of claimants. When the main questions are once determined, it will probably be found that all creditors will ultimately receive the full amount of their demands.

After the long and vehement controversy on the adjustment of revenue and capital accounts, it is a remarkable and instructive fact that the solvent Companies have in every case adhered to their previous practice. It seems, however, that the Caledonian Company is threatened with proceedings in the Scotch Courts, in accordance with the precedent established in the Court of Chancery to the detriment of the Metropolitan Company. Since the decision of the Caledonian shareholders in favour of the Directors against the Committee of Investigation, the value of the shares has risen rapidly and

steadily; but a check has been produced by the threat of litigation, affording another proof that undue restrictions on the discretion of the Company operate as heavy penalties on the proprietors. It would perhaps be well if the Courts had the power of refusing to hear applications which purport to injure the plaintiff as well as the defendant in the cause. The gambling which was facilitated on the Stock Exchange by the decision of the Court of Chancery against the Metropolitan Company was in every instance founded on the assumption that the Directors had acted for the benefit of their constituents, and that the decree of the VICE-CHANCELLOR inflicted unqualified injury on all the shareholders.

A shareholder at the Great Northern meeting had the merit of calling the attention of Railway Directors to the illegal and unjust character of arbitrary charges against revenue. As a holder of A stock, which is entitled to the surplus dividend after providing six per cent. on B stock, he protested against proposals to confiscate his income for the supposed benefit of the general undertaking; and he warned the Board that the Court of Chancery was open to litigants on behalf of revenue as well as of capital. Similar rights exist in many other Companies; and there are also twenty millions of preference shares and stocks with dividends contingent on the profits of each separate year. It is evident that the holders have a right to claim that every farthing of dividend which is fairly earned shall be fully paid; and in the case of Companies suffering under embarrassment, the preference shareholders are entitled to insist on an equitable apportionment of charges. A forced loan extorted from ordinary shareholders is an anomalous operation, but it may probably increase the reversionary value of their property. When preference dividends are misapplied to the relief of capital, the sufferers are not the same persons who profit by the eventual compensation. It fortunately happened that there was no practical risk of an unfair arrangement of the Great Northern accounts. The Directors thought it expedient to adopt in words the popular cry for closing the capital account, but in every instance they strictly adhered to the principle of charging improvements and enlargements to capital. There is, in fact, no difficulty in determining the character of ordinary payments, although in exceptional cases it may be necessary to raise capital even for maintenance and repair. When the Caledonian Company amalgamated with themselves the Scottish North-Eastern, their witnesses stated to the Committee that no less a sum than 250,000*l.* would be required to put the North-Eastern line in order; and it was fully understood on all sides that the necessary sum would be provided, once for all, from capital. The Caledonian shareholders would assuredly never have consented to the amalgamation if they had supposed that the immediate outlay was to be charged against revenue. A prudent millowner debits his annual earnings with the maintenance and repair of his buildings; but, if he buys a ruinous set of works, he considers that the restoration is as much a permanent investment as the purchase-money.

The abandonment of numerous projects which had been thought necessary for public accommodation will afford immediate relief to many Railway Companies; but, with the renewal of enterprise and commercial activity, they will be compelled to supply the public wants. The injury inflicted on a district by the absence of railways is little understood by those who consider the price of shares and the amount of dividends as the final objects of railways. A few years ago almost any Company which had resolutely closed its capital account would in a short time have been ruined by competition; nor will it be possible for Parliament to refuse its sanction to future enterprises unless the existing Companies display reasonable liberality. If indeed the House of Commons adopts Mr. Dodson's wild proposal for refusing a hearing to petitioners on the ground of competition, the existing Companies will soon have cause to regret their precipitation in abandoning works which will be almost immediately adopted by hostile speculators. The enthusiasm with which schemes of abandonment are for the moment welcomed is a new illustration of the odd coincidence that the habitual assailants of railways are at the same time the professed opponents of new railway accommodation.

THE PRIESTHOOD OF WOMAN.

IF the female philosophers who plead for the emancipation of their sex would stoop from the sublimer heights of Woman's Rights to arguments of mere human expediency, we fancy they might find some of their critics disposed to listen in a more compliant mood. We can imagine a very good point being made out of the simple fact of waste, by some feminine advocate who

would point out in a businesslike way how much more work the world might get through if only woman had fair play. Waste is always a pitiful and disagreeable thing, and the waste of whatever reserved power may lie at present unused in the breasts of half a million of old maids, for instance, is a thought which, with so much to be done around us, it is somewhat uncomfortable to dwell much upon. The argument, too, might be neatly enforced, just at present, by illustrations from a somewhat unexpected quarter. The Papacy seems determined to carry out its concordat with Woman. If we are to credit the latest rumours from the Vatican, Rome has grown impatient of the class who now present themselves at her doors as candidates for canonization, and has fallen back from the obscure Italian beggars and Cochin Chinese martyrs whom she has recently delighted to honour on the more illustrious names of Christopher Columbus and Joan of Arc. A little courage must have been needed for this retreat upon the past, for neither the great navigator nor the heroine found much support or appreciation in the prelates of their day; and the somewhat uncomfortable fact might be urged by the devil's advocate, in the case of the latter, that if Joan was sent to the martyr's stake, it was by a spiritual tribunal. On the other hand, there is the obvious desirableness of showing how perfectly at one the Papacy is with the spirit of the age in this double compliment to the two primary forces of modern civilization—the democratic force of the New World, and the feminine force of the Old. The beatification of the Maid of Orleans in its most simple aspect is the official recognition, by the Papacy, of the claims of her sex to a far larger sphere of human action than has as yet been accorded to them. Woman may fairly meet the domestic admonitions of Papal briefs by this newly discovered instance of extraordinary holiness, and may front the taunts of cynical objectors with a saintly patron who was the first to break through the outer conventionalities of womanhood. But the figure of Joan of Arc is far more than a convenient answer to objections such as these; it is, as we have said, in itself a cogent argument for a better use of feminine energies. No life gives one such a notion as hers of the vast forces which lie hidden, and as it would seem wasted, in the present mass of women. It is impossible to be content with little projects of utilization such as those which throw open to her the telegraph-office or the printing-press, or even with the more ambitious claims for her admission to the Bench or the dissecting-room, when one gets a glimpse such as this of energies latent within the female breast which are strong enough to change the face of the world. It is difficult to suppose that the woman of our day is less energetic than the woman of the fifteenth century, or that her piano and her workbag sum up the whole of her possibilities any more than her spinning-wheel or her sheep-tending exhausted those of the Maid of Domremy. The ordinary occupations of woman strike us in this light as mere jets of vapour, useful indeed as a relief to the volcanic pressure within, but insufficient to remove the peril of an eruption. There must be some truth in the spasmodic utterances of the fevered sibyls who occasionally bare the female heart to us in three-volume novels, and the gaiety and frivolity of the life of woman is a mere mask for the wild, tossing emotions within. It is a standing danger, we own; and besides the danger there is, as we have said, the waste and the pity of it.

A little closer examination, however, may suggest some doubts whether this waste of power is not more apparent than real. In the physical world, Mr. Grove has told us that the apparent destruction of a force is only its transformation into a force which is correlative to it; that motion, for instance, when lost, is again detected in the new form of heat, and heat in that of light. But the theory is far from being true of the physical world only, and, had we space here, nothing would be easier than to trace the same correlation of forces through the moral nature of man. For waste, then, in the particular instance which is before us, we may perhaps substitute transformation. Professing herself the most rigid of conservatives, woman gives vent to this heroic energy for which the times offer no natural outlet in the radical modifications which she is continually introducing into modern society. We overlook the manifold ways in which she is acting on and changing the state of things around us, just because we are deceived by the apparent unity with which the whole sex advances towards marriage. We forget the large margin of those who fail in attaining their end, and we act as if the great mass of unmarried women simply represented a waste and lost force. And yet it is just this waste force which tells on society more powerfully than all. The energies which fail in finding a human object of domestic adoration become the devotional energies of the world. The force which would have made the home makes the Church. It is really amazing to watch, if we look back through the ages, the silent steady working of this feminine impulse, and to see how bit by bit it has recovered the ground of which Christianity robbed Woman. We wonder that no woman poet has ever turned, like Schiller, to the gods of old. In every heathen religion of the Western world woman occupied a prominent place. Priestess or prophetess, she stood in all ministerial offices on an equality with man. It was only the irruption of religions from the East, the faiths of Isis or Mithras, which swept woman from the temple. Christianity shared the Oriental antipathy to the ministerial service of woman; it banished her from altar and from choir; in darker times it drove her to the very porch of its shrines. The Church of after ages dealt with woman as the Empire dealt with its Cæsars; it was

ready to grant her apotheosis, but only when she was safely out of the world. It gave her canonization, and it gives it to her still, but not the priesthood. No rout could seem more complete, but woman is never greater than when she is routed. The newly-instituted parson of to-day, brimming over with apostolic texts which forbid woman to speak in church, no sooner arrives at his parish than he finds himself in a spiritual world whose impulse and guidance is wholly in the hands of women. Expel woman as you will, *tamen usque recurrit*. Woman is, in fact, the parish. Within, in her lowest spiritual form, as the parson's wife, she inspires and sometimes writes his sermons. Without, as the bulk of his congregation, she watches over his orthodoxy, verifies his texts, visits his schools, and harasses his sick. "Ah, Betsy!" said a sick woman to a wealthier sister the other day, "it's of some use being well off; you won't be obliged when you die to have a district-lady worrying you with a chapter." But the district-lady has others to "worry" in life besides the sick. Mrs. Hannah More tells us exultantly in her journal how successful were her raids upon the parsons, and in what dread all unspiritual ministers stood of her visitations. And the same rigid censorship prevails in many quarters still. The preacher who thunders so defiantly against spiritual foes is trembling all the time beneath the critical eye that is watching him from the dim recesses of an unworldly bonnet, and the critical finger which follows him with so merciless an accuracy in his texts. Impelled, guided, censured by woman, we can hardly wonder if in nine cases out of ten the parson turns woman himself, and if the usurpation of woman's rights in the services of religion has been deftly avenged by the subjugation of the usurpers. Expelled from the Temple, woman has simply put her priesthood into commission, and discharges her ministerial duties by deputy.

It was impossible for woman to remain permanently content with a position like this; but it is only of late that a favourable conjuncture of affairs has enabled her to quit it for a more obtrusive one. The great Church movement which the *Apologia* has made so familiar to us in its earlier progress came some ten years ago to a stand. Some of its most eminent leaders had seceded to another communion, it had been weakened by the Gorham decision, and by its own internal dissensions. Whether on the side of dogma or ritual, it seemed to have lost for the moment its old impulse—to have lost heart and life. It was in this emergency that woman came to the front. She claimed to revive the old religious position which had been assigned to her by the monasticism of the middle ages, but to revive it under different conditions and with a different end. The mediæval Church had, indeed, glorified, as much as words could glorify, the devotion of woman; but once become a devotee, it had locked her in the cloister. As far as action on the world without was concerned, the veil served simply as a species of suicide, and the impulses of woman, after all the crowns and pretty speeches of her religious counsellors, found themselves bottled up within stout stone walls and as inactive as before. From this strait woman, at the time we speak of, delivered herself by the organization of charity. In lines of a certain beauty, though somewhat difficult in their grammatical construction, she has been described as a ministering angel when pain and anguish wring the brow; and it was in her capacity of ministering angel that she now placed herself at the head of the Church movement and advanced upon the world. It was impossible to lock these beneficent beings up, for the whole scope of their existence lay in the outer world; but every day, as it developed their ecclesiastical position, made even their admirers recognise the wise discretion of the middle ages. Long before the Ritualists themselves, they, with a feminine instinct, had discerned the value of costume. The district visitor, whom nobody had paid the smallest attention to in the common vestments of the world, became a sacred being as she donned the crape and hideous bonnet of the "Sister." Within the new establishment there was all the excitement of a perfectly novel existence, of time broken up as women like it to be broken up in perpetual services and minute obligation of rules, the dramatic change of name, and the romantic self-abnegation of obedience. The "Mother Superior" took the place of the tyrant of another sex who had hitherto claimed the submission of woman, but she was something more to her "children" than the husband or father whom they had left in the world without. In all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil, she claimed within her dominions to be supreme. The quasi-sacerdotal dignity, the pure religious ministration which ages had stolen from her, was quietly reassumed. She received confessions, she imposed penances, she drew up offices of devotion. Wherever the community settled, it settled as a new spiritual power. If the clergyman of the parish ventured on advice or suggestion, he was told that the Sisterhood must preserve its own independence of action, and was snubbed home again for his pains. The Mother Superior, in fact, soon towered into a greatness far beyond the reach of ordinary parsons. She kept her own tame chaplain, and she kept him in very edifying subjection. From a realm completely her own, the influence of woman began now to tell upon the world without. Little colonies of Sisters planted here and there annexed parish after parish. Sometimes the parson was worried into submission by incessant calls of the most justifiable nature on his time and patience. Sometimes he was bribed into submission by the removal from his shoulders of the burden of alms. It was only when he was thoroughly tamed that he was rewarded by pretty stoles and gorgeous vestments. Astonished

congregations saw their church blossom in purple and red, and frontal and hanging told of the silent energy of the group of Sisters. The parson found himself nowhere in his own parish; every detail managed for him, every care removed, and all independence gone. If it suited the ministering angels to make a legal splash, he found himself landed in the Law Courts. If they took it into their heads to seek another fold, every one assumed, as a matter of course, that their pastor would go too. At such a rate of progress the great object of woman's ambition must soon come in view, and the silent control over the priest will merge in the open claim to the priesthood.

It may be in silent preparation for such a claim that the ecclesiastical hierarchy are taking, year by year, a more feminine position. The Houses of Convocation, for instance, present us with a lively image of what the bitterest censor of woman would be delighted to predict as the result of her admission to senatorial honours. There is the same interminable flow of mellifluous talk, the same utter inability to devise or to understand an argument, the same bitterness and hard words, the same skill in little tricks and diplomacies, the same practical incompetence, which have been denounced as characteristics of woman. The caution, the finesse, the ely decorum, the inability to take a large view of any question, the patience, the masterly inaction, the vicious outbreaks of temper which now and then break the inaction of a Bishop, may sometimes lead us to ask whether the Episcopal office is not one admirably suited for the genius of woman. But she must stoop to conquer heights like these, and it is probably with a view to a slow ascent towards them through the ages to come that she is now moulding the mind of the curate at her will. He, we have been told, is commonly the first lady of the parish; and what he now is in theory, a century hence may find him in fact. It would be difficult even now to detect any difference of sex in the triviality of purpose, the love of gossip, the petty interests, the feeble talk, the ignorance, the vanity, the love of personal display, the white hand dangled over the pulpit, the becoming vestment and the embroidered stole, which we are learning gradually to look upon as attributes of the British curate. So perfect, indeed, is the imitation that the excellence of her work may perhaps defeat its own purpose; and the lacquered imitation of woman, "dilettante, delicate-handed," as Tennyson saw and sang of him, may satisfy the world, and for long ages prevent any anxious inquiry after the real feminine Brummagem.

THE "IFS" OF HISTORY.

THERE is a kind of speculation to which writers of the inferior class are specially prone, but which has some charms even for the most philosophical writers. If something had happened which didn't happen, what would have happened afterwards? Of course no one can say positively, and therefore no one should waste much time in inquiring. Yet, in looking back upon the course of history, it is impossible not to dwell for a moment upon some of the more important crises, and to remark how small a difference might have made an incalculable change. We know the said sayings about the decisive battles of the world. If Themistocles had lost the battle of Salamis, if Hasdrubal had won the battle of the Metaurus, if Charles Martel had been beaten by the Saracens, would not the subsequent history of Europe and the world have been altered, and a great many fine philosophical theories been destroyed before their birth? It is easy for Comte or Buckle to talk about inevitable laws of historical evolution, and to prove that that which has actually occurred could not but have occurred. But if it is true that a different event to any one of these, or innumerable other battles, might have changed all succeeding ages, and if the event of a battle might have been decided by a chance blow or by the illness of one commander, we cannot deny that history might have been upset if a single arrow had been sharper, or if a single general had had a fit of indigestion. The theory that the world's history depends upon such trifles as these does not really involve any of the metaphysical doctrines about the freedom of the will with which it is sometimes connected. All events may be irrevocably enchaind, even if the permanence of the chain depends upon the weakest and least conspicuous links. The state of Caesar's stomach on a given day may be as much a part of the unalterable order of the universe as the fate of an army or the state of civilization of a continent. Even the strictest believer in universal causation may admit, without prejudice to his opinions, that the most trivial circumstances may be of cardinal importance. The reluctance to admit the doctrine about great events springing from trivial causes results from another consequence of the theory. Where the fate of a few persons is concerned, no one would care to dispute it. When Noah was in the ark, the most trifling error of steering might (in the absence of providential interposition) have shipwrecked the whole human race. Now the logical difficulties raised by necessitarians apply just as much to a party of twenty as to twenty millions. The importance of small causes does not affect their theory more in one case than the other. But philosophers are unwilling to allow that the fate of whole countries and of many generations can depend upon these petty accidents, because it would obviously render all prediction impossible, and at least leave the future of mankind dependent upon the chance of the necessary hero arising at the critical moment. Theoretically, it is possible that two sets of gigantic forces may be so nicely balanced that a grain thrown into either scale will determine the result; but we are naturally

unwilling to admit that such cases occur in practice, because it reduces to hopeless uncertainty all our most elaborate calculations. If Mary had lived a little longer or Elizabeth died sooner, says Mr. Mill, the Reformation would have been crushed in England. People who believe in a steady development of human thought are naturally unwilling to allow that the spread of new ideas may be arrested or made possible by the accident of a single woman's life; for, on the same principles, we can have no certainty that in a few years hence we may not all be Roman Catholics or Mormons or followers of Comte.

It is impossible here to discuss so large a question as the frequency with which those historical crises occur in which the merest trifle may turn the balance, or to inquire whether they ever occur at all. But we may notice shortly two or three conditions of the argument which are frequently overlooked, and which make most of these discussions eminently unsatisfactory. Thus, for example, the believers in decisive battles very seldom take the trouble even to argue the real difficulty of the question. The defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig, or perhaps at Waterloo, it has been said, changed the history of Europe. It may be so, but the fact that a particular battle was the most crushing or the final blow which he received does not even tend to prove that a different result would have been equally decisive the other way. On the contrary, a victory might probably have been the next worst thing to a defeat. The battles in which the Saracens or the Hungarians received the final check to their advance are in the same way reckoned as decisive of history. But, to make this out, we should have to prove that which is at first sight opposed to all probability—that, in the event of a victory, they could have permanently held their conquests; and afterwards that, if they had held them, they would not have been absorbed by the conquered population. When Canute rebuked his courtiers he happened to select a time at which the tide was rising. If, by a little management, they had induced him to give the order just as the tide turned, they might perhaps have persuaded him that his order was the cause of the change. A good many historical heroes seem to have been Canutes who issued their commands precisely at the turn of the tide, and historical writers have been crying out ever since that, if it had not been for this marvellous Canute, the tide would have swelled until the whole country had been engulfed. The analogy is, of course, imperfect, for the historical tide is really affected in some degree by the hero who opposes its progress at the proper moment, only he has a wonderful advantage if he happens to strike just at the fortunate epoch.

Columbus may be taken for a type of another application of the same argument. If he had never discovered America, it is said, there could never have been a conquest of Mexico, nor a negro slave-trade, nor a Constitution of the United States, nor a war of secession, nor an *Alabama* difficulty; and some haters of democratic principles have been known to express a wish that the *Santa Maria* had sprung a leak about half way across the Atlantic; as in a somewhat parallel case a naval captain has been heard to regret, after one of those difficulties which occasionally spring up between naval captains and gentlemen of the Hebrew persuasion, that he was not in command of one of Her Majesty's frigates when his enemies' tribe was crossing the Red Sea. What might have been the consequences of such an unexpected intervention in favour of Pharaoh's host, it is not for us to inquire; but the persons who attach so much importance to the expedition of Columbus forget two important circumstances. In the first place, America had been apparently discovered several centuries earlier, as it is stated that Australia was circumnavigated some two hundred years before the birth of Captain Cook, only the discoveries fell rather dead in the days when systematic emigration was out of the question. New England had to wait for the voyage of the *Mayflower* as the Australian colonies had to wait till Old England was on the look-out for a vacant space for convicts, and afterwards for a superfluous population of more respectable character. In the next place, if Columbus had failed, nothing can be more certain than that America would have been discovered a few years later. The courage which he showed is not the less praiseworthy because the most that can safely be said is that he antedated the discovery by a few years. A large number of the benefits which we owe to great men are of the same kind. They have been in advance of the mass of mankind, and have therefore caught sight of new discoveries a few years earlier. When America was still a wilderness, it was a great feat to reach the Mississippi. As cultivation advanced it soon became as easy to reach the Rocky Mountains. Every step forwards gave a better starting-point to the next discoverer, and in the nineteenth century it requires far less enterprise to reach San Francisco than it did in the seventeenth to get to the Falls of Niagara. Discoveries in science or philosophy are in reality of the same nature. There are truths waiting to be found out, and they are less difficult of attainment for each succeeding generation. To grasp them now, a man must be a giant of ten feet high; to reach them to-morrow he need not exceed six feet; and in a few days every child will be able to get at them. Newton solved the problem of gravitation, and in doing so made one of the greatest strides that has ever been accomplished by the human intellect. But, if Newton had died prematurely, his fame would have been secured by some one else. The distance which he cleared at once might have been passed in two or three stages; but, so long as science was advancing, it was as certain that some one would find the solution of the riddle as it was that some pioneer of civilization would in time reach the Mississippi.

Even in the direction where this kind of reasoning has the least probability, some kind of case might be made out. If Shakspeare had never been forced to come to London, it may be said, we should never have had the finest dramatic literature of the world. We should have sunk through the whole interval which separates Shakspeare from the writer who comes next to him in fame. All the ingenuity of all our own critics or those of Germany would have failed to construct satisfactory idols out of Ben Jonson or Beaumont and Fletcher. In this case, the immense effects which have been produced by a single intellect would have been absent if by some ill luck its possessor had died prematurely. It might, however, be urged, even in this case, that a great poet or a great artist is never a solitary phenomenon. Homer, if Homer is not a collective name, was only the first amongst many similar singers. Shakspeare was the noblest fruit of an intense national activity all turned in the same direction. When the time comes for the outburst of poetical genius, then one writer who happens to be the ablest man of his age will give the best expression of the thoughts common to his age, and will usurp the credit which is properly due to all. We cannot say what are the conditions which bring about this sudden intellectual spring such as occurred in the Elizabethan era, or at the beginning of this century; but it is conceivable, at least, that they may be determined by a superhuman intelligence as certainly as those which bring about the annual outburst of the physical forces of nature.

Without seeking to estimate the value of such arguments, one result is equally obvious in the opposite direction. It might be established that if we cut off any of the most prominent leaders of speculation or action, some other would be ready to take his place—that, in short, the advance of the race does not depend upon any individual, however marked may be his genius. But it does not follow that great men are useless, and that they are not indispensable to a rapid advance. It only proves that, to make progress certain, there must be a supply of energetic minds ready to take the place of those who may be accidentally lost. If Newton had not solved the problem of gravitation, some one else would have done it a little later. But any number of generations of the ordinary undergraduate who is plucked for his degree would be insufficient even to keep science up to its level, far more to advance it. If we were limited to the class below the highest, we should at best stand still, even if we did not fall back. No combination of commonplace intellects would discover the differential calculus, or solve the problem of planetary motion, or be even capable of attacking the difficulties involved in them, any more than a million scribblers of poetry could produce a Shakspeare, or a dozen bad generals produce one Napoleon. It may be that the existence of one great man implies, as a rule, the existence of many others ready and able to take his place; but the rapidity of progress, or even the power of making progress at all, depends equally upon the fact that some men or some persons are able to take considerable strides in advance. It is therefore possible to reconcile a belief in the immense importance of great men with a belief that we could dispense with any one great man taken singly.

THE OXFORD PROTEST.

WE entertain strong doubts on the desirableness of agitating the Universities by perpetual reforms, or attempts at reform. If, as we believe, the late settlement of the Universities was a good one, it ought to have time to consolidate. The Reform Bill of 1832 was allowed thirty years to do its work, and the pause which ensued was of the greatest advantage to the Constitution. A child picks up his flower-roots to see how they grow, and we know with what results; but though we have no sympathy whatever with the petulance which can never let the Universities alone, and the constant exhibition of which has done so much to injure them in the public confidence, we shall not be deterred from canvassing on its merits the last meddling with which they are threatened, however premature we may consider it.

We do not think that the opposition to Mr. Coleridge's Bill for the abolition of Academical tests will gain much by the vehement address which is now being circulated among Oxford graduates. It is an amusing proof of the extent to which theologians have sheered off from the common life of men that a knot of middle-aged clergymen cannot state the objects and results of a measure such as this without falling into a sort of tall talk which reminds us of the Vatican. The Archbishop can scarcely have failed to detect the old homiletic flavour in such a grandiloquent burst as that which assures him that "this is no common contest, no party question; it is not even a question between Church and Dissent. The battle is for Christian faith and Christian morals. It is for our very life." As the flag-end of a Tory discourse from the pulpit of St. Mary's, this might pass with a smile, but what can be more inappropriate than a tone of this kind in a manifesto addressed by exceedingly comfortable persons at Oxford to a very comfortable Primate at Lambeth? If it means anything at all, it must mean that the Warden of Merton and the President of St. John's are prepared, on the passing of this Bill, to head a general flight of their protesting colleagues from an institution where, "with the overthrow of a definite creed and a common form of prayer, the very basis of a Christian education will disappear from amongst us." But then, unfortunately or fortunately, we know it means nothing of the sort. There can be no rational doubt that, if Mr. Coleridge's Bill passes, the list of Heads of Houses, of Professors, of College Tutors, will remain exactly the same as before. Amidst all the

wreck of dogma and principle, the just man who utters all these fearful prognostications will remain perfectly undisturbed. There is no more reason to expect a Tory emigration now than there was in 1854. But the experience of 1854 may help us to read into common English all the wild talk of Tory manifestoes.

Mr. Coleridge's Bill proposes to effect three objects, each of which is perfectly distinct, and each of which may be advocated and opposed on perfectly different grounds. The admission of Dissenters to the highest academical degree is in itself a matter of simple justice and good taste. If a man is to enter a University at all, to be educated by it, to win its chief intellectual distinctions, to have his abilities and industry recognised by its class lists, it is ridiculous to suppose that he is to be one day brought face to face with a set of theological statements which the University has never professed to teach him, or to expect him to learn, or in any way to reward him for learning or believing; and on his rejection of these, to be punished for an error in theology by a loss of the highest degree in arts. There is a sort of complicated absurdity in such a course which defies any attempt at defence or apology; and the most obstinate advocates of the present Oxford system would probably be content with the compromise which Cambridge offers, and grant the degree of M.A., while restricting, by the present test, all exercise of the privileges and powers which are now attached to it. It is with Mr. Coleridge's proposal to fling these open to all comers that the fight really begins. The advocates of Reform are hardly likely to content themselves with the offer of a purely honorary distinction which would still leave the national and educational position of the Universities where it found it. The restriction of the University franchise to a body selected on grounds of a purely theological character is a fact so exceptional in our representative system that nothing but the strongest grounds could justify it. It has, too, the disadvantage of practically depriving the Universities, as such, of any special Parliamentary representation; their members are apt to dwell more on the religious than on the academical nature of their constituency, and to regard themselves simply as members for the Church of England. There may, of course, be as good reasons for assigning such an official representation to the Establishment in the House of Commons, as there are for it in the House of Lords; but the representation should be as direct in the one case as in the other. What happens now is that the position of member for a University is often claimed and opposed for the most part on ecclesiastical grounds, and the attention of University members is directed to ecclesiastical rather than academical subjects. The majority of a University Constituency does not feel the least interest in inquiring what course the representatives of Oxford or Cambridge will take on the question of National Education, of Grammar Schools, of Technical Instruction—on such points at any rate he occupies no special position, nor have his utterances any special weight; but the moment a question arises about tithe-rent-charges or the division of parishes, he is expected to be in his place, and his seat hangs on the orthodoxy of his statements. In other words, the result of an ecclesiastical test to an academical constituency is simply that, as academical bodies, the Universities are not represented at all.

Mr. Coleridge's Bill, then, can hardly fail to raise this grave constitutional question whether a system of suffrage which obviously perverts the representation of the Universities into a representation of something quite as important, but perfectly different, can long be suffered to continue; and whether, if the Church of England is to have four special advocates in the House of Commons, they had not better be directly the delegates of Convocation than the members for Oxford or Cambridge. But the Parliamentary suffrage is perhaps the least prized of all the privileges threatened by the Bill. Convocation is the governing body of the University, and a test guards the entrance to Convocation. Its educational work is done for the most part by a body of Tutors, selected from among the Fellows of Colleges, and a test excludes all of suspected orthodoxy from the enjoyment of Fellowships. The functions of Convocation are, after all, of such little consequence, and the practical direction of the University is so completely in the hands of the Colleges, that it is in this latter exclusion that the gist of the matter really lies. Now the first and most fatal flaw in the present system of collegiate exclusion lies in the fact that, if it is to be exclusive at all, it is not half exclusive enough. So rapid is the movement of senior Fellows, for instance, to other fields of intellectual exertion, that the teaching at Oxford is devolved in great part on the younger and newly-elected members of the foundation; in fact, a Fellow is hardly elected before College necessities set him lecturing. But during the first year after election no test secures the orthodoxy, or, as the memorialists prefer to call it, the Christianity of the teacher; and it is only at its close that his "overthrow of a definite creed" can be arrested. Is it, however, true that the present test arrests it? We are not now discussing the moral honesty or dishonesty of their position, but we are simply stating a notorious fact when we say that among the most distinguished of the present Oxford tutors—all, it is to be remembered, sifted by this wonderful test—are to be found men who have declared war on all creeds whatever. The ideal of academical education indeed, as it is usually stated in Parliament, is in ludicrous contrast with the facts. The boy is to be shielded, as a woman is shielded, from all the controversy and dispute which might sully a conscience and shake principles which age and education have not had time to ripen. The reverse of this pretty picture is, that the boy spoken of is really in years a man,

and that, instead of an atmosphere of religious peace, you fling him into a cauldron of controversy. Is it possible that the Heads and Professors who signed the Oxford Protest could read without a smile its emphatic declaration that "the conscience will be injured by the exhibition in the very home of education either of a bitter contest on first principles, or of a lax and careless indifferentism"? Have the consciences entrusted to their care been shielded so effectually during the last thirty years from these "bitter conflicts," this "careless indifferentism," that they dread an interruption to this divine peace from the admission of half a dozen Dissenters? Or do they wish the public to forget—for it is to the public rather than to the Archbishop that this manifesto is really addressed—the existence of a body of men who wield a greater influence over the actual thought and education of the Universities than all their Professors? The actual work of teaching rests on the shoulders of private tutors, and the teaching of the private tutor is controlled by no theological test whatever. Of all the perils, in fact, with which the Memorial threatens us as results of the passing of Mr. Coleridge's Bill, there is not one which the Universities are not encountering at the present moment. A "bitter conflict on first principles" is troubling the conscience of youth; the practical work of the higher education is done by men in many cases unpledged to the support of any "definite creed or common form of prayer"; among the existing tutors of colleges are persons (to use the polite phrase of the Petition) "not necessarily Christians." This is the actual position of that system of "Christian Education" which the Oxford Memorialists so passionately implore their Primate to defend. This is the system the strife in defence of which is a "battle for Christian faith and Christian morals."

There is an obvious retort to such arguments as we have stated, in the question why, if things already are as Reformers wish them to be, they should still press for Reform. But if a test be useless for the purposes which it was intended to serve, it may still be highly objectionable in the results which it practically does effect; and the tests which this Bill proposes to remove undoubtedly denationalize the Universities. However great the Church of England may be, however important its interests, they are less important than the interests of the whole nation. To make the Universities really efficient factors in a general system of national education will be impossible so long as they preserve their present semi-ecclesiastical position. And yet it is impossible seriously to compare their utility as centres of a really national culture with their present office of turning out a few hundred deacons for the curacies of the Church. Ecclesiastical seminaries they were never meant to be, nor is it possible that a great country will long permit educational resources of so gigantic a character to be frittered away on so limited a purpose. But before a national position can be given to the Universities, a national interest must be created in them, and at present such an interest is quietly dying down. The growth of population, the growth of wealth, finds no reflection in the growth of these educational bodies. In other words, they are telling less and less every year on the general culture of the country, and the country is every year taking less interest in their existence or their work. To win national interest the Universities must first become national themselves; and the removal of purely sectional tests would at any rate fling them fairly open to the nation. It would be but a first step in their reform, but it is a first step which involves all the rest. And the more intensely national the Universities become, the more we believe they will reflect, in all its highest elements, the tone of the national Church. The bitterness of the attack on the ecclesiastical character of the Universities is no indication of any bitterness towards the Church which they now profess to represent; it is caused quite as much by resentment at their misrepresentation of it. Nothing can be more unlike the comprehensive tolerance, the large-mindedness, the popular character of the Church of England than the narrow, bitter spirit which seems inherent in these clerical constituencies, and which is learning in the school of Tadpole and Taper to express itself in the hateful forms of party organization and electioneering dodges. Mr. Woolcombe claims public admiration for the marvellous machinery which can collect hundreds of signatures in a couple of days. It is just the perfection of all this party management which is bringing academical opinion into contempt. The connexion of the Universities with the Church will not be secured by the dexterous manipulation of polling lists any more than by the imposition of a worn-out test. It will rest, like the larger connexion of the country and the Church, on the traditions of the past, nowhere so intense as in these ancient seats of learning, on the social conditions of the present, on the fidelity with which the Church reflects, and heightens in reflecting, the religious tendencies of the nation. We believe that, alone among the Churches of the world, the Church of England can and will do this, and that the greatest obstacle she has to encounter in doing it lies in the narrow polemical ecclesiasticism which finds its focus in the Universities.

SHOPKEEPERS.

THE co-operative crusade cannot fail to damage the retail shopkeeper very considerably. Just now, middle-class people who are not retail dealers themselves are in a white heat of passion against the retailers. They have, in a body, awakened to a recognition of the fact, of which they had only a partial and fragmentary

conception before, that profits of 100 and 150 per cent. upon wholesale prices are rather too strong an attempt on the British householder's good nature. The average householder has a mortal dislike to the collector of the Queen's taxes and the parish rates. He pays the half-year's four pound ten and five pound nine with a painful and grudging compunction; but he compensates himself by the reflection that, as a Briton, he enjoys the overwhelming advantage of Free-trade. Not on him are laid the heavy burdens which weigh down the contemporary Gaul or German. Not on his bread, or on his beef, or his tea and sugar press those frightful imposts which swell the cost of living in Paris or Vienna. It is—or rather it was—his boast, that for him Customs' duties are light and Excise duties a nullity. We say it was his boast, for now the boast is gone. An octroi duty more intolerable than that of Paris is laid upon his tea, his sugar, his coffee, his rice, his macaroni, even his salt and his matches. And this is done, not by the oppressive hand of a bloated aristocracy, or a despotic Government, or an extravagant and irresponsible vestry; not for the relief of aristocratic or of parochial paupers; but by his cherished household grocer, his familiar butcher, and his long-endured fishmonger, for the aggrandizement of themselves and their families. It is these people who have made Peel's tariff of none effect, the abolition of the Corn-laws a mockery, and the triumphs of Free-trade a myth. There is enough in this provocation to justify the bread-winner's passion. But all passion is blind, and overreaches itself in the end. That of the British householder may possibly share this common fate. At present he is paying for the goods which he buys at the co-operative store only five per cent. above the wholesale price. This enormous gain makes him insensible to the loss of time sustained in going to the store to give his order, and waiting for its execution. By and by perhaps he will begin to complain of the delay and inconvenience imposed on him by the defective organization of the store. He will not brook dawdling half an hour till his orders are given, or a week till the goods are sent home. To mitigate his impatience a staff of clerks will be organized, carts and horses will be hired, and depôts in different parts of the town established. But five per cent. profit, *plus* half-crown tickets, will be wholly inadequate to meet this new expense. Gradually the prices will rise to ten and fifteen per cent., and the purchaser will learn how unreasonable he was to expect that he could have the best articles supplied to him, in any street or suburb, at a fractional charge above their price at the dock. The discovery may make him—probably will make him—relent towards the offending and aggravating retailer; and, if so, a new phase of things will arise during which the tradesman may preserve or destroy his restored chances. Judging, however, from the Wednesday night's indignation meeting held at the Hanover Square Rooms, a blind terror seems to have possessed the grocers. They can only spit and snarl and spitefully shriek at the Government clerks, as though the movement had not possessed itself of English society. The grocers may be assured of this, that if every Civil Servant of the Crown were cashiered to-morrow, the rebellion against the retail tradesman, as he is, would continue; and the only gleam of common sense which shot athwart the meeting, was that the system of long credit is at the bottom of the evil. But this system has two sides. When the retail tradesman gives long credit on borrowed capital it comes to this, that the customer pays, not only for the credit he takes himself, but for the credit which the grocer takes; and if ready money is to be the rule of trade, business must cease when conducted on borrowed capital.

If he is wise, the retailer will have learned two very important lessons from the present crisis. One is that, though profits will be allowed in reason, immoderate profits will not be endured. People who fought and beat the landlords for the sake of cheap bread will not be pillaged by the grocer, the poulterer, or the butcher. Another lesson is, that the public, having once tasted genuine and wholesome provisions, will not go back to those which are adulterated. It is bad enough to pay fifty or sixty per cent. over cost price for good things, but to pay one hundred per cent. for adulterated trash is utterly beyond the limits of average human endurance. But, though these propositions are self-evident, there is a very great chance that the ordinary tradesman will disregard them. Flushed with a premature victory, and not acute enough to recognise its causes, he will probably revert to his old ways, and sell his adulterated goods at his present (or very recent) high prices. Then will his doom be sealed. No allegations and no pretences will suffice to allay the wrath of the infuriated public. In vain will high rents, expensive establishments, and long credit be pleaded again. In vain will the too-exulting vendor venture on his audacious contrast between the real worth of his articles and those sold in the store. Indignant at the double cheat, the British purchaser will once more be driven to brave all the inconvenience and all the delay incident to the store; and the shopkeeper's fate will be settled. His last state of deposition will be incomparably worse than his first.

This will be a great and striking catastrophe. The extinction of the British retail dealer will revolutionize society. With the grocer and his correlative dealers, the linendraper and the mercer will probably disappear. The same kind of mechanism which enables the world to dispense with one class will enable them also to dispense with other classes of shops. A great question will then arise, What will those men do who would otherwise have kept shops? Doubtless this question, when it does arise, will find some solution for itself which we of this generation cannot anticipate. Two nearer questions to us are, What makes

people turn shopkeepers, and who are they? The answers to these are not uniform. There are shopkeepers, and shopkeepers. There is the owner of the long-established City business, who succeeded his father and grandfather, and who was born and bred to it. Such a man is more of a merchant than a retail dealer. But he has profited in both capacities. Regular and unambitious, he has from both sources increased his wealth, until he has attained the position of a capitalist. Of course the ordinary tradesman of modern days is in a very different position. It were curious to note in how many cases he has begun business without any other than borrowed capital. Owning nothing, trusting to friends or money-lenders for the means of taking and storing his shop, he has no hesitation in confronting the expense of a big house, plate-glass, and ample show-rooms. To meet his rent and other outgoings, to pay interest for borrowed money, and keep up appearances, he has only to rely on the profits of trade. And, in a great number, if not in the actual majority, of cases, this reliance is not misplaced. One begins to acknowledge the truth of the saying "Nothing like trade," when one sees how often men with no better starting-point than consummate audacity first of all make a subsistence, then a show, and, finally, a fortune. The attractions of a calling like this are obvious. It defies at once the computations of the practised economist and the conjectures of the rough-and-ready calculator. It might be supposed that the rush of a number of persons into the same trade would swamp their profits and benefit their customers. Experience demonstrates that the very reverse is the actual result. The tradesmen can combine better than the public, and competition may continue without a diminution of gains. This advantage would of itself be sufficient to account for a multiplication of shopkeepers. If ten linendrapers in the same street can continue to sell at the same price that three sold at, ten linendrapers' shops will soon be found where once there were only three. But this is not the whole, nor even the main, inducement. There is also that grand object of the true Briton, social advancement. Who would be a servant when he can be a master? Who would drudge, sweat, and be snubbed when he could by hook or by crook become a householder and a "respectable tradesman." Every tradesman is, *ex vi termini*, respectable, just as every magistrate is worthy, and every barrister learned. He is a voter, a possible vestryman, and guardian of the poor, with the power of imposing rates on his fellow-parishioners, and himself contributing to their disbursement. He is an authority on the politics, not only of the parish, but also of the nation. He is ardent and bitter on the subject of taxation, as is natural in a man who, without any resources of his own, is aping the condition and paying for the reputation of a capitalist. Viewed in any light, he is a sort of petty divinity to clerks, apprentices, and single-handed serving men, all of whom aspire to attain his state of life. It is not an unmixedly pleasant reflection, but the fact is that this is the class of men which makes members of Parliament, at least the members for small boroughs, and which members are especially bound to please. As the members of the House of Commons govern the country, dictate its policy, and give it its national character, and as these men make the members, it is clear that England is, or up to this time has been, mainly governed by men whose political knowledge is the fruit of in-tuition rather than of thought or study. That the tradesman's instincts have not so completely dominated in the House of Commons as might be supposed is due, perhaps, less to the liberality of his ideas than to the necessities of his position. The struggles of his early career have left their mark on his later life, and made the subventions of a wealthy patron most opportune. Hence that timely waiver of fixed opinions, and those delicate complications which so frequently embarrass the patriotic yearnings of opulent candidates, and afford such interesting matter for the inquiring spirits of Parliamentary Committees.

We have spoken only of the male retailer. But regard for truth obliges us to confess that the female bosom burns with the same ardour as the male. The same ambition beguiles the housemaid and the lady's-maid. Sated with the daily abundance of the kitchen and the housekeeper's room, they pine to leave the domestic "servitude" which wounds their self-love, and to "go into business." A little room where they can cut out patterns or trim bonnets, and on the door of which the magic title of "Milliner" may be engraved, wins them away into occupations the earnings of which would not suffice to pay for the meals they consumed in the days of their servitude. Hence every street has more than its required supply of dressmakers and bonnet-makers, whose ambition would be worthy of all praise had they bestowed the slightest trouble on qualifying for their elevation. Unfortunately, in their aspirations after a higher grade, they have never thought of its pre-requisites. They have learned neither to make dresses nor to trim bonnets. Their sewing is of the most slovenly untidy fashion. Their dresses neither fit well nor look well. Their bonnets are showy, tawdry, and vulgar. As they have never studied the elements of taste, their work is tasteless, graceless, offensive. Of this they are neither conscious nor ashamed. It is sufficient for them that they are in "business"; that when they call at a lady's house, they are ushered in under the respectful designation of "Miss"; that they are eligible for the hand of the rising young draper or cheesemonger; or that, if they are disgusted with the blank monotony of virtuous and unremunerative industry, their "trade" will be an introduction to a career to which no simple housemaid ever could aspire. In such a contingency, the labour of cutting out unseemly dresses or plan-

ning ugly bonnets may be exchanged for the light amusement of selling cigars, *maris et Cuba expertes*, to simpering "gents" of every age and rank.

The ambition which we have ventured to sketch is fanned and fostered by modern education. The *Beehive* and its fraternity inform us that one of the first duties of a reformed Parliament will be to provide such a popular education as shall qualify the sons of bricklayers and carpenters to compete with the sons of their fathers' employers for admission to official or private clerkships. It was only the other day that a gentleman was asked by his footman, who prided himself on being "a good scholar," to procure him some employment in the Civil Service. The prospect is lively. The ratepaying householder will have the satisfaction of knowing that his contributions towards national education will enable his butler's son to compete with his own son for a start in life, and his cook's daughter to bid against his own daughter for the emoluments of a governess. If he feels some sort of compunction at the extent and the object of this sacrifice, he may stifle his indignation by reflecting that his sentiments betoken great illiberality; that it is both his duty and his privilege to assist in humbling the proud and exalting the humble; and that the great onward movement which has brought into prominence the modern British tradesman will not cease until it has exhibited other productions equally remarkable and equally admirable.

EARL RUSSELL ON THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.

WE have lately had a flood, either of light or of darkness as it may be deemed, thrown upon the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, both in earlier and in later times. Our own columns have borne witness to the activity of discussion on these matters. We have striven to make out the facts in dispute between Dr. Brady and his archidiaconal foes, and we have racked our brains in attempting to discover the exact nature of a Coarb. And now Earl Russell, in his Letter to Mr. Fortescue, kindly comes forward to enlighten us as to the ecclesiastical doings of Henry the Second. Lord Russell's notions on the matter are worth notice as a good example of the seemingly invincible confusions with which most people approach any point of mediæval ecclesiastical history. He begins his Irish history with the information that "the Normans overthrew the Saxons, and conquered England." Lord Russell seemingly thinks that our forefathers were put out altogether by a single process of eviction on the grandest scale. But one does not at first see what this has to do with the Irish Church. We get a stage nearer when we are told that, "a century later, Strongbow and his confederate knights and nobles conquered Ireland." We hope that Lord Russell does not think that the two processes of conquest were at all alike. In the next sentence we come to business. "For a long time they derived little aid from Henry the Second; but when the English King, in order to confirm his temporal authority, brought to his assistance the spiritual arm of the Roman Catholic Church, he proclaimed the Pope as head of the Church, and instituted tithes to be paid to the Roman Catholic clergy. It was therefore from the Norman conquerors of Ireland, at the time of the Conquest, and not from the Irish people, that the Roman Catholic Church obtained its property in Ireland."

We have read this passage over several times in the vain hope of finding out its meaning. Above all things, we were struck by the notion of Henry the Second proclaiming the Pope as head of the Church. This is one of those astounding assertions which, simply because they are so astounding, make us think that we must have been wrong all our lives, and that the man who makes them must be right. For such an assertion there must, one thinks, be some sort of ground; if the statement be not strictly accurate as it stands, there must be something or other capable of being tortured into it. But, after looking in the most obvious contemporary writers and documents, we can find nothing in the least like it. If Lord Russell's fact was not developed out of Lord Russell's own consciousness, it must come from some source so out-of-the-way that he ought at least to have given us a reference. We cannot find it in Giraldus, in Roger of Howden, in Ralph of Diss, or among the documents printed in Rymer. Perhaps this may be thought to be research enough on such a point. We never before heard, and we still do not believe, that anybody ever proclaimed anybody as Head of the Church till the days of a later Henry, who certainly did proclaim the Pope in that character. Lord Russell surely cannot infer that, because Pope Hadrian put out a certain bull in 1154, and because Pope Alexander put out certain other bulls in 1172, all of which were very convenient for Henry's purposes, therefore Henry proclaimed either Hadrian or Alexander as Head of the Church. And this is really the nearest approach that we can find to Lord Russell's statement.

But we want still more particularly to know what is Lord Russell's notion of "the Roman Catholic Church," "the Roman Catholic clergy," &c. in the twelfth century. Certainly no such phrases occur in any original writer. We do not even find, what we might have expected to find, anything about submission to the Holy Roman Church or the like. What we do find is a good deal about making the Irish Church and its clergy conform to the rules and practices of the Anglican Church. Lord Russell may perhaps answer that the Anglican Church in those days was the Roman Catholic Church; but we altogether object to any such description. The words "Roman Catholic," "Roman Catholic Church,"

"Roman Catholic creed," and the like, are most convenient and appropriate when applied at the present day or at any time since the Council of Trent. They avoid the use of words like "Popish" and "Papist," which are felt as insulting by those to whom they are applied; and they avoid the surrender of principle which many people hold that there is in the exclusive application of the word "Catholic" to persons or Churches in communion with Rome. The form of words, though it has something contradictory about it, is practically the best way of describing that part of Western Christendom which accepts the Tridentine decrees. But, on the face of it, it implies a contrast with something else, not only with those ancient Churches of the East which have never accepted the supremacy of Rome, but also with those Churches of the West which have, in later times, cast that supremacy aside. But to talk of the "Roman Catholic Church," the "Roman Catholic clergy," &c., in Ireland or elsewhere, in the twelfth century, is either meaningless or inaccurate. As applied to the only Church and the only clergy in the country, the words have no distinctive force. They suggest that there was in Ireland in the twelfth century, as there is in the nineteenth century, some other Church and some other clergy side by side of the Church and clergy who are spoken of as Roman Catholic. It is not unlikely that some notion of this kind was floating across Lord Russell's mind—that he had some vision of an earlier and purer Irish Church and clergy, for which the "Norman conquerors" substituted a "Roman Catholic" Church and clergy. We tremble somewhat as we feel ourselves getting into such dangerous neighbourhood to those terrible Coarbs; but it is quite certain that there were not, in the twelfth century, two religious bodies co-existing in Ireland side by side. Whatever may have been the peculiarities of the Irish Church in earlier times, it had long been drawing nearer and nearer to the Anglican, and thereby to the Roman, type. The Norman or English Conquest only confirmed this pre-existing tendency, which was probably mainly owing to the Scandinavian settlements in the east of Ireland. To the Scandinavian nations England was the great centre of Christianity, and from them the Anglicizing or Romanizing movement seems to have spread to the native Irish. Readers of Eadmer know how Anselm, at the request of an Irish King and his clergy and people, consecrated Bishops for Dublin and Waterford, the Bishops so consecrated being appropriately Irish by birth and English by education. The Irish Church, described by Roger of Howden, as organized under the well-known four Archbishops and their suffragans, must have thrown away all the peculiarities of the Coarbite times. The Papal bulls of Hadrian and Alexander, though they teach that an English conquest would be for the spiritual advantage of the Irish, do not at all treat the Irish as heretics or schismatics. They were in a very bad way in many things, and King Henry was to teach them better, just as Duke William was to teach the English better a hundred years before. Laxity of discipline, neglect of ecclesiastical payments, gross breaches of morality, are complained of, but there is nothing to show that the Irish were looked on as having gone astray in matters of doctrine, or that they denied the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. King Henry is indeed rhetorically bidden to bring his expected subjects under "Christian laws," and to teach them the "truth of the Christian faith"; but that these expressions are merely rhetorical is shown by the more practical precept that follows. Henry is not bidden to introduce any new Church, but is bidden carefully to respect the rights of all the existing Churches of the island. Accordingly, when Henry held the Council of Cashel in 1172, a Papal Legate presided, but that Legate was an Irish Bishop, Christian, Bishop of Lismore. The Prelates of Ireland, with a few English clerks representing the King, put forth certain canons about marriages, baptisms, funerals, and also about the payment of tithe, the point which seems to have struck Lord Russell. But there is not a word about the Pope being proclaimed Head of the Church; indeed there is not a word about the Pope at all, except the fact that his Legate was present—a fact which is not spoken of as anything extraordinary. The final resolution is that the Church of Ireland shall in all points conform to the usages of the Church of England. The King of England had become their temporal sovereign, and it was therefore expedient to adopt the laws of his realm in ecclesiastical matters also.

It was no doubt the mention of tithe in these canons which led Lord Russell to the strange assertion that "it was from the Norman conquerors of Ireland, at the time of the Conquest, and not from the Irish people, that the Roman Catholic Church obtained its property in Ireland." One would think from these words that some newly planted Church received endowments for the first time from the conquerors. But what the canons enforce is the payment of tithe to the Churches already existing. They go on also to make regulations about the existing landed property of those Churches—property which must certainly have been given to them by the Irish people or their chieftains, and not by the Norman conquerors at the time of the Conquest. No doubt from this time the Irish Church became less purely Irish; men of English birth, of English or Norman descent, obtained benefices in Ireland; the connexion with England became closer, and native Irish peculiarities became less marked; but the foundation and endowment of a new "Roman Catholic Church," of which Lord Russell seems to have dreamed, has not a shadow of a foundation in history.

"Till the Reformation," continues Lord Russell, "this property was held by the Catholic Church. But in the reign of Eliza-

both all was changed." It is something, after all the efforts that we have made to find out the fact, to be told at last when "the Reformation" really happened—namely, "in the reign of Elizabeth." But, according to Lord Russell, one feature of the Reformation was apparently to take away property from the Catholic Church. He does not, either here or in a later part of his pamphlet when he returns to the subject, say in so many words that property was taken from one Church and given to another, but his ideas are evidently more or less clouded by that vulgar confusion. For, as regards England, it is simply a vulgar confusion. As regards Ireland, there comes in that terrible question of fact which we must again leave to be disputed between Dr. Brady and the Archdeacons.

We have spoken of Lord Russell's way of talking as a choice specimen of historical confusion. But we must distinctly add that in so speaking we are giving no opinion as to his practical proposals. Those proposals, and any other proposals, must stand or fall by their own merits. They must be judged of by the necessities of the nineteenth century, not by the facts of the twelfth. Parliament can do anything. It can, therefore, if it pleases, take property from one Church and give it to another. The question is whether it be just and expedient to do so in the case of Ireland or in any other case. But this has nothing to do with the facts of remote history. The Norman conquerors in the twelfth century certainly did not endow any Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, but it is quite open to the Imperial Parliament to do so in the nineteenth century, if it thinks good. We are ready to give a fair hearing to the practical proposals of Lord Russell or of anybody else. Those proposals are in no way affected by anything that Henry the Second, or even Queen Elizabeth, did or did not do. In a legal argument, the facts of past history are commonly nearly everything. In a purely political argument, except by way of example or warning, they count for very little. We are therefore in no way prejudging Lord Russell's scheme, or any other scheme, by pointing out the amusing historical confusion into which he has fallen.

REPORT OF THE SCHOOLS INQUIRY COMMISSION.

THE Report of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, which has this week been presented to Parliament, is the first instalment of one of the hugest and most elaborate literary works that have ever issued from Her Majesty's Printing Office. It is now rather more than three years since this Commission was appointed "to inquire into, and report upon, the education given in schools not comprised within either of Her Majesty's two former Commissions"—that is to say, schools lying between the nine so-called "public" schools of Lord Clarendon's Commission, and the schools for the poor which were reported upon by the Duke of Newcastle's Commission of 1858. As the scope of this present inquiry is wider than that of either of the two preceding, so it is satisfactory to know that the inquiry itself has been conducted in a more thorough and exhaustive manner. The Commission began by, and were occupied for about a year and a half in, examining witnesses of all kinds—masters of endowed, proprietary, and private schools, employers of educated labour, clergymen and religious teachers of all denominations, representatives of the Universities, trustees of grammar schools, legal dignitaries whose offices have called them to deal with charities, and an immense number of other persons who have been in one way or another connected with education. The evidence thus taken fills two thick volumes. It was, however, obviously necessary to have some more direct means than the best selection of witnesses could furnish of knowing the actual condition of the schools in different parts of the country, and comparing one part with another. To effect this, eight Assistant-Commissioners were appointed to visit and report upon the schools of eight selected districts of England—namely, London (the postal district), Surrey and Sussex, Devon and Somerset, Stafford and Warwick, certain counties of Wales, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Norfolk and Northumberland. These gentlemen were instructed to visit and report upon every one of the endowed grammar schools in their respective districts; to visit also as large a number as possible of private boys' and girls' schools; and to ascertain in any other way that might be open to them the practical state of the education of the upper and middle classes, the wishes of parents and schoolmasters, and the points in which reform might be called for. After spending from six to ten months in the work allotted to them, these Assistant-Commissioners drew up reports which have not yet been published, but which, if we may judge from the extracts from them contained in the General Report of the Commissioners, are both minute and comprehensive, and seem likely to furnish facts and suggestions bearing upon all the practical difficulties with which the subject is beset. When the inquiry into the state of the eight specimen districts had been completed, a fresh one, which appears to have occupied several months, was instituted into the endowed schools of the remaining counties of England. Thus every one of the endowed grammar schools of the country, to the number of 782, has been visited and made the subject of a special report, in which its history, financial condition, and present educational value are minutely set forth and commented upon. While this was going on in England, three other Assistant-Commissioners were sent, one to the United States and Canada, another to the Continent of Europe, and a third to Scotland, charged to describe the state of the education received by the upper and middle classes in those countries, and to compare it with

that of England. Finally, tables of questions were prepared in the office, and sent round to all the endowed and proprietary schools in the kingdom, and to a large number of private schools in the eight specimen districts; and the answers in due course received to these questions were digested and classified. In this way a series of tables have been drawn up containing all the information that can be desired respecting the revenues of the schools, the number of boys receiving instruction in them, the cost of this instruction, the subjects comprised in the ordinary school course, the number and qualifications of the teachers, and many other topics of less moment. When it is considered how many-sided an inquiry of this nature must be, embracing girls as well as boys, technical and professional as well as general education, few persons will be disposed to complain of the great length—twenty-one volumes—to which the Report, when completed, seems likely to extend. Its size will, of course, necessarily limit its circulation; but, in the prospect of legislation upon the subject, it is eminently desirable to place before the public the amplest materials for forming an opinion upon the questions which will then arise, and we cannot but rejoice that the Commissioners should have taken so high and wide a view of their functions, and should have resolved to spare no time or pains to let the result of their inquiries be stated in the most full and faithful form, and to support their practical conclusions by so large a mass of evidence and statistics.

The contents of these twenty-one volumes, as set forth in the table placed at the end of the one just published, are as follows:—

Vol. I. contains the Report of the Commissioners themselves, with some *pièces justificatives* appended to it.

Vol. II. contains a number of miscellaneous communications made to the Commission by various persons and public bodies, and an analysis of the evidence given by the witnesses.

Vol. III. contains the answers given to the questions addressed to eight foundation schools, whose several incomes exceed 2,000*l.* a year—namely, Christ's Hospital, St. Olaf's, Southwark, Dulwich College, Birmingham Grammar School, Manchester Grammar School, Tonbridge Grammar School, Bedford Grammar School, Monmouth Grammar School.

Vols. IV. and V. contain the evidence given by the witnesses whom the Commission examined.

Vol. VI. contains Reports on the Borough schools of Scotland by Mr. Fearon; on schools in France, Italy, Prussia, and Switzerland, by Mr. Matthew Arnold; and a communication on schools in Holland, by Baron Mackay.

Vols. VII. VIII. and IX. contain the General Reports of the eight Assistant-Commissioners for England and Wales—namely, in Vol. VII., the Southern counties and the Metropolitan district, by Messrs. Stanton, Giffard, and Fearon; in Vol. VIII., the Midland counties and Northumberland, by Messrs. Bompas, Green, and Hammond; in Vol. IX., the Northern counties, by Messrs. Fitch and Bryce.

Vols. X. to XX. contain special Reports upon all the grammar schools in England, arranged according to the Registrar-General's divisions, each volume containing a complete set of tables, showing the condition of the endowed schools in the district, and each several Report being accompanied by a *précis* of information relating to the school, compiled from the returns made by its trustees and head-master. Another volume, making up the whole number to twenty-one, is occupied by Mr. Fraser's Report upon the United States and Canada, which was published last July. Of these twenty, Vols. II. to IX. are promised in a week or ten days' time, while the remaining eleven, which will be less interesting to the general public, although likely to excite lively feelings of annoyance as well as pleasure in the several districts to which they refer, are announced to appear in the course of the next few months. The one volume which now lies before us—that containing the general survey, by the Commissioners, of the present condition of superior education in England—is itself so large, and deals with such a variety of topics, that we cannot do justice to it at the close of an article. Next week we propose to examine in detail its views and suggestions. Meantime it is worth remembering that no more readable and less technical blue-book has appeared for a long time. Some topics ought, we think, to have received a more exhaustive treatment than they have received. The education of girls, for instance, about which there has been so much discussion during the last few years, and which seems likely to become still more of a practical question than it has hitherto been, is dealt with in too summary a way; and the subject of methods of instruction and discipline, and of the respective educational value of different branches of knowledge, is mentioned only to be dismissed, though there is hardly any matter on which public opinion, confused by the declamation of the classicists on the one side and the so-called utilitarians on the other, would be more likely to be benefited by the deliberate judgment of men so able and so impartial as the present Commissioners. We cannot, however, be surprised that the authors of this report should have feared to injure its effect by adding to its length; and we are far more disposed to thank them for what they have given than to reproach them for not giving us more. To the discussion of intricate questions, many of them matters of political or theological controversy, they have brought a spirit of fairness and moderation which adds great weight to their practical suggestions; while, at the same time, they have had the courage to unveil existing abuses, even at the risk of provoking the hostility of those who profit by them, or who have

suffered them to remain uncorrected. To judge from the quotations given in this volume, the Assistant-Commissioners appear to have spoken in the plainest terms of the defects of the schools they visited, and the credit of this plain-speaking is no doubt to be given to the Commissioners themselves, under whose supervision the inquiry was conducted. After the exposure which these pages contain of the apathy and jobbery of Boards of Trustees, and the selfishness and laziness of masters, one may hope that charitable foundations will cease to be proverbial for mismanagement, and that economists may have reason to think better of endowments than they have done ever since the days of Adam Smith. Considered as a literary performance, the merits of the Report are of a very high order. It is plain and businesslike from beginning to end, but its style is concise, lucid, dignified; and it is marked by a unity of purpose and sentiment which could hardly have been looked for in the joint production of so many authors, chosen, as the members of a Commission are necessarily chosen, because they severally represent different parties and schools of thought. The arrangement adopted is thus described by the Commissioners themselves; it is a clear and natural one:—

In Chapter I. we have endeavoured to describe the aim at which all improvements in secondary education, and especially in the endowed schools, should be directed; the kinds of education that appear to be required in this country, and the classes of schools which will be necessary in order to give those kinds of education effectually.

Chapter II. contains a description of the present state of English schools for secondary education, and particularly of the endowed schools. We have here endeavoured to point out, not only the defects which appear to exist in these schools, but the chief causes to which those defects are traceable.

In Chapter III. we have given an account of the revenues and local distribution of the endowments for secondary education, showing what parts of the country are already supplied with resources of this kind, what parts have no such resources.

In Chapter IV. we have examined the present state of the law affecting educational endowments, and the inadequacy of the jurisdiction at present exercised, whether by visitors or by the Court of Chancery and the Charity Commissioners, to effect any sufficient reform.

In Chapter V. we have specially considered eight of the largest endowments, and pointed out in what respects the results which they attain appear to us to fall short of what fairly might be expected from their revenues, and what changes would in our opinion enable them more adequately to fulfil the purposes to which such endowments ought to be devoted.

Chapter VI. contains a review of the various opinions put before us by intelligent witnesses on the present condition of the education of girls, followed by such suggestions as appear to us likely to tend to its improvement.

Chapter VII. is occupied by the general recommendations, which, after having thus completely discussed all the materials in our hands, we humbly lay before Your Majesty for consideration.

These general recommendations with which the Report concludes are, of course, the part which will be read with most interest and excite most discussion. But their weight will not be understood except by those who have studied attentively the earlier chapters, and more particularly the second, in which the results of the minute inquiries prosecuted by the Assistant-Commissioners are gathered together, and expounded with a force and clearness and conciseness which leave nothing to be desired. The moral of this chapter, which is also the main moral of the whole Report, is that it is not money which is needed to make a proper provision of schools for the English middle-class, but system and organization. In a good many towns, it is true, grammar schools are wanted, but even in these towns no great sum is required to found them; and the cases are far more numerous in which large funds are being wasted, sometimes from the idleness or incapacity of masters, sometimes because the education provided is not what the people of the locality want:—

In numbers of districts [say the Commissioners], schools stand near to one another doing the same work, and doing it more wastefully and worse than one school only would do it; and in the same districts, or even at the same places, there is other work to be done equally important and perfectly feasible, which is meanwhile neglected. Viewed as a whole, the condition of school education above the primary has been called a chaos, and the condition of the endowed schools is certainly not the least chaotic portion. The founders of these 782 schools have each thrown in their contributions, and there has been no one with power to organize the mass or assign to each school its place and function. If the founders had all lived at the present time, were cognizant of present circumstances, and were desirous of adjusting their respective benefactions so as to answer present needs and to harmonize their own foundations with schools established by other benefactors, some control would still have been imperative to prevent loss or evil. That control is not rendered less necessary by the fact that not more than one hundred of these foundations are less than a century old, that five hundred are more than two centuries old, and that some come to us from times as ancient as the fourteenth century; that the social position and prospects of the community, its hopes and desires, have changed enormously both over the whole country and in the several districts of it, since the large majority of these schools were established; that the value of property has experienced no less a change, but a change affecting these endowments in very unequal degrees; so that the founders' language, as applied to the present position of the endowments, is frequently that of men disposing blindfold of property of which they do not know the value, distributing it to persons of whose needs they are ignorant, and directing the execution of purposes which are impracticable and undesirable.

The clearness and profusion of illustration with which the Commissioners proceed to show the impossibility of adhering to founders' intentions, even supposing that there is any moral obligation to do so, strikes us as one of the chief merits of their Report, as it is the necessary introduction to the proposals of sweeping, but as we believe wise and reasonable, change which form the conclusion of the volume. To these proposals we hope to return next week.

LOUIS I. OF BAVARIA.

MUNICH not long since had the fortune, or the misfortune, to be the residence of no fewer than three deposed or abdicated royal personages, besides her actual sovereign. In the Wittelsbach Palace was lodged the ex-King Louis, who only on Sunday last was gathered to his fathers, though his son and his grandson had already been reigning in his stead. Not many days after the "Greek Gate" at Munich—inscribed all over with the names of Lord BIPON, and other heroes of the War of Greek Independence, in Hellenic characters—was solemnly "inaugurated," the deposed King Otho, in whose honour it was erected, entered it a discredited fugitive. For several months he might be seen walking about the streets in Greek costume, and one of the old parish churches was even handed over for the observance of the Greek rite; though Otho himself was a Roman Catholic, and there were never above half a dozen members of the Greek Church mixed with the miscellaneous crowd of Catholic and Protestant loungers who came to stare at the strange ceremonial and listen to the clear, sweet chanting of the chorister-boys, which was a refreshing contrast after the operatic performances in the Royal Chapel. At the same time the ex-Queen of Naples, who, from whatever cause—for all sorts of stories were current about it—had left her husband to the solitary enjoyment of his *faintant* royalty at Rome, might be seen driving through the English Garden, conspicuous for that crown of beauty which Francis gave not, and Garibaldi could not take away. Munich, with her galaxy of discredited heads, was a kind of parable of the life and character of her second king. Louis could decorate a throne, but he could neither reign nor rule. So far from being, as a contemporary has remarked, "a king and something besides," he was something besides, instead of being a king. No doubt he showed some liberal sympathies in the earlier years of his reign, when liberality was a kind of luxury of monarchs—just as Augustus had liberal sympathies, which were, however, perfectly consistent with the maintenance of a strict absolutism. Louis indeed stated, in announcing his resignation, that he "had always governed in accordance with the Constitution," and that his "life had been dedicated to the welfare of his people." The two statements were about equally true. Of constitutional government he had no idea, and, rather than accept it, he chose to abdicate in 1848. For it is a mistake to suppose that the grotesque indecencies of Lola Montes—whose carriage was pelted with stones all along the Ludwig Strasse by the University students, no over-rigid censors of morals—and the doting fondness of her sexagenarian lover, alone or chiefly drove him from the throne. These things were the immediate occasion of the crisis, but not its cause. At that revolutionary epoch when kings, as the phrase ran, were "put upon their trial," even the stolid conservatism of Bavaria required something more from its rulers than an enlightened patronage of the picturesque. Learning and arts King Louis was more than willing to give them; but for laws and commerce he cared not, and at all events he was determined to sanction no laws not of his own making. He retired, therefore, in favour of his son, who was far more popular as a king than Louis had ever been himself. And with good reason. Maximilian had not perhaps the "gracious, winning, kindly way" ascribed to his father—though no man on a throne or off it could be more brutally rude than King Louis when the humour seized him—but he was, and was felt to be, an honest constitutional sovereign, devoted to the good of his people. The eloquent eulogium pronounced by Dr. Dollinger at his funeral, and the weeping multitudes, from the highest ladies of the Court to the poor peasant, who thronged the anterooms of the royal *Residenz* on the morning of his sudden death, pressing to the very doors of his chamber to catch the last tidings of his waning life, gave no forced or artificial testimony to the esteem in which he was held by his people. King Louis roused no such feeling, either in life or death. His services to his country, such as they were, were of a totally different kind, and by them he must now be judged. It was his ambition to make Munich a modern epitome of Athens, and in this, to a great extent, he succeeded. How far success was worth attaining is another question.

The one genuine thing about the deceased King—who in character was little better than a feeble, selfish, singularly opinionated voluptuary—was his love of art. He had a real appreciation of sculpture, painting, and architecture, and did his best to enrich his capital with the classical art-treasures of Greece and Rome. The collection of ancient and modern pictures in the two *Pinakothek*s is inferior to that of many other foreign cities, and the King is said to have been sometimes grossly imposed upon in his purchase of copies stated to be originals. But the ancient sculpture in the *Glyptothek*, restored by Thorwaldsen, far exceeds anything of the kind to be seen elsewhere north of the Alps. Every visitor stops to admire the frescoes in St. Boniface and the Chapel Royal. The good taste of attempting to reproduce the Arch of Titus, and other monuments of classical antiquity, in a modern capital, is, to say the least, open to question, and the King's most original contribution on a large scale to the decoration of Munich has always appeared to us—heretical as such an avowal will sound in Bavarian ears—a very unquestionable failure. Schwanthaler's gigantic image of Bavaria poisoning a crown in her hand, as though she were about to dash out somebody's brains with it, is both ungraceful in itself and utterly out of proportion with the comparatively diminutive Walhalla before which it stands, like a

Broddingnagian goddess keeping guard over a Lilliputian shrine. We do not speculate, like some of our religious contemporaries, on the future destiny of departed statesmen; but the process by which the *Record* has adjudicated upon the claims of Lord Palmerston and the reversionary chances of Lord Derby in another world would certainly secure to Louis of Bavaria the throne in heaven which he forfeited on earth. It was hinted, our readers may recollect, that the morals of "the man of God" were not altogether what they should have been; but after an animated discussion of some three weeks, a verdict was given against the *advocatus diaboli* on the ground that he had filled more than half the English Sees with sound Evangelicals, who, if they could not always "speak Greek," could revile Tractarian curates, occasionally even rural deans, to some purpose in the vulgar tongue. On the other hand, poor Lord Derby, whose morals are confessedly irreproachable, has just been pronounced, by the same high authority, quite unworthy the praise of "true Protestants," considering how he has misused, by making High Church deans, the opportunities which a merciful Providence refused him for corrupting the Episcopate. If King Louis is to be judged by a similar standard, the fact that he has built four very fine churches in Munich ought certainly to cancel any little irregularities in his moral conduct. For ourselves, we must be content with the humbler task of estimating their architectural and artistic merits, and, as far as interior effect is concerned, we rate them highly. The outside of St. Boniface—copied on a smaller scale from St. Paul's, without the walls, at Rome—is like a huge Dissenting Chapel, and there is little to admire in the external features of the University Church. The only Gothic building among the four, St. Maria Hilf, usually called the Au Church from the quarter in which it is situated, must, on the whole, be pronounced a failure. Aisles, windows, and chancel are too narrow, and there is a pinched look about the building altogether. St. Clotilde at Paris is a decidedly superior specimen of modern Gothic, though very far from being perfect. The Munich glass in the Au Church is very beautiful in itself, but that kind of picture-glass is quite unsuited for Gothic windows; the mullions simply spoil the effect. Of the great *chef d'œuvre* by which Louis has sought to immortalize his memory—the *Ludwig Strasse*, stretching from the University to the Triumphal Arch—few visitors, probably no Englishmen, will have any good to say in its present state. Many of our readers have no doubt suffered too keenly from the long monotony of its white dazzling glare, unbroken by any vestige of shade or colour, to think of it with common patience. The *Maximilian Strasse*, extending at right angles from the former to the bridge over the Isar, with its green avenues, is pleasanter to the eye, as well as cooler. Most likely the *Ludwig Strasse* will be planted with trees now, if King Louis II. can snatch any time from Herr Wagner and "the music of the future" for such vanities as the convenience of his subjects. But no such profanation could be ventured upon during the life of its Royal founder, as will be seen from a story to be told presently. We said that King Louis was exceedingly opinionated, and capable on occasion of making himself extremely rude. He by no means shared George III.'s objection to being outdone in politeness by any of his subjects. No obituary of him could be considered other than incomplete which did not include some notice of those personal idiosyncrasies by which for the last twenty years he has been chiefly known. The citizens who would not have him to reign over them as a king, came to feel a pride in the kindly, gossiping, wealthy old man who went in and out among them, *sublato jure nocendi*, but who was very far from being "basely silent" when he could no longer speak with the authority of a reigning sovereign.

It was the habit of His Majesty when at home—he always spent his winters in Italy or Algiers—to walk about the city unattended, and address any one he knew, or sometimes persons he did not know. On one of these occasions he asked an acquaintance whom he met in the Maximilian Strasse whether he preferred that or the Ludwig Strasse? The day was hot, and the gentleman interrogated had a conscience. He replied, with uncourtly candour, that he preferred the Maximilian Strasse. "What?" said the King, who was latterly very deaf. The reply was repeated in a louder tone. "Then," rejoined His Majesty with incisive emphasis, "You are an ass." Another favourite amusement of his, which his former subjects tolerated with provoking equanimity, was to walk about between the different parts of a concert, often stopping the performances for at least half an hour, while he chattered to any pretty young shopwoman who had been lucky, or unlucky, enough to attract his roving gaze. He invariably began with asking them whether they were married or single, but was sometimes too deaf or too impatient to listen for the reply. It was long remembered in Munich how the fair interlocutor in one of these public dialogues—for they were by no means conducted *sotto voce*—after answering the first query with an emphatic assertion of her single blessedness, was promptly accosted with the second, "How many children have you?" Presuming that the King had not heard her, she repeated a loud "No" (*nein*) in denial of her marriage. Her royal questioner mistook, or affected to mistake, her "no" for "nine" (*neun*) and promptly remarked, *zu viel, zu viel* ("too many, too many"), to the great amusement of the assemblage, and no small confusion of the blushing spinster. It was this sort of familiar *badinage*, and the absence of anything like assumption of regal state in his movements, which won the ex-monarch, as a private person, the

popularity he had lost as a sovereign. He had nothing of the feeling of the discredited Spartan—that it was a bitter thing to be a citizen after being a king. On the contrary, when he had once washed away the balm from his anointed head with the tears shed, not for the loss of his crown, but of his mistress, he probably found it a great relief to have the title and dignity, without any of the cares, of kingship. Even the departure of the fickle charmer, who used to call him "Mr. Wittelsbach," inflicted only a skin-deep wound. In the height of his Lola Montes furore he offered an apology for "any scandal he might have caused," which did not occur to his namesake the "Well-Beloved" of France, when charging his confessor with the dying expression of his regrets, but which is too curiously characteristic to be omitted. An aged German Bishop, who had once been his tutor, wrote him a private letter to remonstrate on the way he was outraging the moral feelings of his subjects and of all good Christian people. The King did not directly impeach the justice of the charge, but he pleaded that what in men of a less poetical temperament would have been a culpable weakness was in him simply a necessity of his higher nature. The vulgar herd might misinterpret the meaning of their union, but such finely-strung sensibilities as his could only find rest in the Platonic affection—and it was purely Platonic—of such a kindred spirit as Lola Montes. When he penned this notable *apologia pro vitâ sua* he had probably fuddled himself into believing it was not altogether an absurdity. In a sense he spoke the truth about himself. His artistic tastes were genuine and highly developed; as we said before, they were the only genuine thing about him. But even at the age of sixty-two his sense of beauty required a concrete embodiment in the person of a wandering actress, who was the eloped wife of an Englishman. Since the daughter of Herodias "danced off the head of John the Baptist," it has never been permitted to a dancing-girl to exert such a dominion over the heart of a king.

THE ARMY ESTIMATES.

THE Army Estimates have been expected this year with more than usual curiosity, as it was supposed that the introduction of a couple of Reformers-in-Chief in high places at the War Office might have led, even at this early period, to some earnest of future economy. Perhaps it was unreasonable to look for so early a harvest, and certainly the Estimates just issued point in any direction rather than that of economy. At present, the only indication of the projected improvements is to be found in the items of 2,000*l.* and 1,000*l.* respectively, for the salaries of the new Controller-in-Chief and his assistant—money which will be extremely well spent if only they do half what we have been taught to hope from their labours.

Looked at as a whole, the Estimates will not be grateful to the feelings of severe economists. The steady increase which set in with the accession of the Conservatives to power still continues, and without any very palpable augmentation of strength, we find the cost of the army, growing from 14,000,000*l.* to which the Marquis of Hartington reduced them, up to fifteen millions and a quarter last year, and fifteen millions and a half in the present Estimates. It would require a very detailed examination to pick out and justify all the items of increase; but the fact remains, and we must hope that some unseen good will result from the expenditure of 1,500,000*l.* a year beyond what was thought necessary in 1866. The item which it had been supposed, admitted of the largest economy was that of administration; and the course recently taken seemed to imply that more efficient service might be secured at less cost than the country had previously borne for this important branch of army work. This expectation may hereafter be realized, but what we see at present is a marked increase, and an increase, moreover, in the least satisfactory direction. The cost of the War Office establishment now stands at 193,000*l.*, to which it has gradually risen from 165,000*l.* in 1863. Some 10,000*l.* of this seems to be due to a mere transfer of charges from other votes, but, after allowing for these, there still remains an increase of 17,000*l.* or 18,000*l.* a year.

If we take the higher offices only, excluding the rank and file of clerks, we find that increase is still the rule, and especially in the salaries of military officers. Formerly, and indeed up to last year, this class of payments was divided in the ratio of 20,000*l.* to civil officers, and 10,000*l.* to military *employés*. Now, the first item remains nearly at its old figure, while the second has risen to about 14,000*l.* Considering the entire monopoly by military men of the appointments at the Horse Guards, it is not satisfactory to see them gradually absorbing the War Office also, on which the country relies as representing the civil element, to check the natural proneness to indulgent expenditure to which soldiers in office, unless they are more self-denying than angels, must naturally be tempted. The essence of effective financial control over the army is that the administration should be directed, in all matters apart from actual military duty, by men trained, as few soldiers are trained, to economical administration, and able to meet with the necessary firmness the thousand and one applications for excessive expenditure with which your military man proper cannot refrain from sympathizing. As a rule, the civilian administrator looks only to the efficiency and economy of the service, while an old officer cannot help looking first, with a kindly eye, to what would be most profitable or pleasing to the class of which he is a member. We cannot, therefore, regard the apparent tendency to increase the strength of the military element

at the War Office without serious apprehensions both on the score of economy and efficiency; and we hope that the advance made in this direction, in the present Estimates, is more an accident than an omen.

If anything were needed to prove the superiority of civil administration, a comparison between the War Office and the Horse Guards would supply it. The organization of the War Office, though still defective enough, has been steadily improving for some years, while that of the Horse Guards is still an unfathomable chaos. At the Horse Guards we have, besides the departments of the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, and the Military Secretary, which should be represented by a single chief of the staff, two offices—those of the Adjutant-General of Engineers and the Adjutant-General of Artillery—placed on a level with the departments which ought to control them; and if a reason were asked, we believe the inquirer would be told that this disorganization was justified by the accident that His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief happens also to be the head of each of these distinguished corps. It is exactly what might be expected from exclusively military organization—the symmetry and working efficiency of the whole administration is deranged from some notion of military etiquette; and we are glad to see that so able a critic as the General Officer whose “Observations on Army Administration” have lately appeared is very decided in condemning this grotesque arrangement. The War Office shows nothing so anomalous as this, and something like system and consistency has been creeping into it ever since Lord De Grey made the much-denounced experiment of importing a lawyer to sift and codify the multitudinous regulations in which successive authorities have contradicted each other. That the War Office was able, after a short period of extraneous assistance, to dispense with Mr. Thomas Hughes’s aid, and to carry on the work by its own resources, is creditable to its staff, and strongly confirms our conclusion of the great importance of giving free scope to the orderly and lawyer-like instincts of the civilian mind in those branches of administration for which a military life affords so little useful training. Very much, however, remains to be done, but the germ of good in the present organization will be in some danger of perishing if the predominance of the military should be carried so far as to hamper the independent action of the civilian element.

To descend from generals to particulars, we find in the Estimates for the coming year some subjects for congratulation. The Volunteer Capitation Vote shows an increase of 22,500*l.*, which signifies an addition of twelve per cent. to the effective strength of our civilian army. The croakers who, from year to year, have looked for a decline must wait a little longer before they are gratified; and, notwithstanding all that Lord Ranelagh may say, the whole force will, we believe, indorse what the Duke of Cambridge said at the meeting of the National Rifle Association—that the military authorities have throughout worked cordially and kindly for the benefit of their civilian brethren. A singular paper, for which we do not remember to have seen any precedent in former years, gives the means of comparing the military expenditure in the colonies with the local contributions towards defraying the amount. Our whole army expenditure in the colonies is more than 3,000,000*l.*, of which a little more than one-tenth is supplied by local contributions, and all the rest out of the Imperial Exchequer. The liberality of these provinces varies from the extreme of generosity, as in the case of Ceylon, which actually pays more than the whole cost of her military establishments, down to the Cape, which finds 20,000*l.* out of 200,000*l.*, and Canada and the West Indies, whose quota of contribution is nothing at all. Circumstances, however, vary materially in different colonies; and the scheme of a partition of military charges between the Home Government and the dependencies, though cordially accepted in some latitudes, is as yet little more than a tentative experiment. Among other significant items there is an increase of 60,000*l.* in the Barrack Vote, due, for the most part, to expenses caused by the incessant attentions of our Fenian friends; while the Clothing Vote alone shows a decided saving, which would be more encouraging if it were not entirely due to the fact that more uniforms than were wanted were manufactured last year, and that it is intended to use up the old clothes for a great part of the supply of the coming year.

An increase in the staff of the Reserve forces, together with a small addition to the strength of the Militia, will absorb about 80,000*l.*, and we hope that the new scheme for combining under one administration the rather incongruous elements of the Militia, the Pensioners, and the Volunteers will be worth the money it will cost. Finally, we must not omit to notice with satisfaction that a more liberal expenditure upon the Ordnance Survey is contemplated, and we trust that some persons now living may attain a sufficient age to see the completion of an undertaking which has already occupied the life of one generation.

EAST-END DISTRESS.

IT is much to be feared that the well-meant attempt to deal with the East London distress has collapsed in an utter failure. The reckless expenditure of alms in an indiscriminate way having risen to such a pitch of mischief as seriously to alarm the Executive which is entrusted with the duty, not only of relieving, but of arresting and preventing, pauperism, a proposition was made to concentrate the voluntary Boards and Committees into one working whole, under the authority of a

Committee, over which the Lord Mayor presided. Whether it was that the remedy came too late, or that it was found impossible to devise sufficient machinery for the work, or whether—which is most likely—systematic and discriminating relief is not so popular as soup, the Mansion House Committee has not received much aid from the general fund of benevolence. The gentlemen who deem it pious to combine proselytizing with alms-deeds gathered in the harvest, and they have received, and of course have disbursed, some thirteen or fourteen thousand pounds, while the Associated Committees sitting at the Mansion House have only gleaned between three and four thousand pounds. No doubt it must not be forgotten that this last body was late in the field, and before they began to appeal for money much of the romance and sentiment of the occasion had been brushed away by the ugly circumstance of the London shipbuilders declining to take work even at a considerable advance on the wages earned by their brethren at Glasgow and Greenock. The warning conveyed to the distressed artisans was disregarded. They were told that such conduct on their part would certainly disgust the public and fatally injure the cause of real poverty; but they have persisted. And the stream of charity which was chilled a few weeks ago is now quite frozen up. The Central Committee is without funds, and the work of benevolence is apparently at an end. The Mansion House Committee has only not dissolved itself, because, there being nothing to distribute, there is nothing left to dissolve. Of course this result is to be regretted. But it became unavoidable; and there are occasions in which it is necessary, for the sake of a larger and general good, to inflict a partial and lesser wrong or cruelty or injustice—we are not particular about terms. Let us see whether this is one of them.

We can quite understand—indeed it is impossible that it should be otherwise—that East-end distress far transcends the limits of a particular trade, or set of trades. No doubt there are old people and sick people, “cobblers and costermongers,” as has been said, who are in dire distress, and yet have nothing directly to do with shipbuilding, and who have no immediate connexion with the gentlemen artisans who feel it to be their duty to decline to take thirty-four shillings a week. There is something specious—but, if the plea is genuine, something which displays ignorance and shallowness—in the observation said to have been made by a clerical gentleman at the Mansion House, and which only becomes important because Mr. Rowsell is the representative of a very old and, we believe, useful institution. Mr. Rowsell is reported to have insisted that it is unfair that the Committee should decline to relieve real distress because a small body of men has been found to have conducted indirectly to the existence of distress. So far as this plausible observation has any meaning, it proceeds on the assumption that it is a plain Christian duty to relieve with money a poor man, without any inquiry as to the causes of his poverty. Such a view it would be idle to discuss or to refute. Or Mr. Rowsell may have meant, so far as such *ad captandum* speeches may be charitably credited with meaning, that the distance at which a cobbler’s poverty was originally caused by a shipwright’s obstinacy was so remote that it was cruel to visit on the cobbler’s family the direct consequences of his brother’s original sin. But is not this cruelty part of the scheme of Providence, and only the usual way in which the moral government of the world is carried on? It is in just the same sense cruel that children should suffer from a father’s profligacy and thriftlessness as that cobblers should suffer for boiler-makers’ devotion to their craft. One instrument which God has provided for making men honest and industrious is the fact that dishonesty makes others than the guilty suffer; and we are bound to deter men from sin by making them understand that the consequences of sin fall on the innocent as well as the guilty. It is true that the innocent suffer; but they inevitably must suffer. It is nothing to the purpose to say that “East-end distress is worse than it was last year, and that it prevails among classes not generally connected with the shipbuilding trade.” Can it be proved that the distress is partially and remotely connected with the shipbuilding trade? Nobody denies it. Can it be proved that the shipbuilding trade is as bad as it is chiefly or solely because shipwrights and boiler-makers refuse to work except at such wages as the masters cannot pay, simply because customers will not buy their goods at such prices as they must charge if they are to pay the wages which the workmen demand? It is almost silly to write down such palpable truisms, and to make a fuss about a fact which can be either proved or disproved in two minutes.

Here, then, is the latest illustration of the situation. Thirty men employed by Messrs. Pontifex, the boiler-makers, struck work because they were dissatisfied with 5*s.* 6*d.* a day, and a shilling extra in place of the Saturday half-holiday. Whether this incident was what is technically called a strike, or a piece of special obstinacy, it is idle to inquire; the solid fact remains that these thirty men might have had, and were receiving, 34*s.* a week, and threw these wages up. We shall be told—we say this from some experience in the audacity of assertion which is ventured upon in these quarters—that the Trades’ Unions had nothing to do with this, and that it was not at their dictation that the thirty men struck. And we answer that nobody will believe this. No thirty men would be such fools, no thirty men could be such knaves, unless they were coerced. It may be difficult to trace their refusal of an income which is higher than that of many a curate, and many a civil servant of the Crown, to the Vehm-Gericht of the Old Bailey; but it was dictated, if not by the Secre-

tary or the Executive of this or that trade, by the pervading spirit of Unionism. And we shall believe that the thirty carpenters at Millwall acted entirely on their own will as soon as they are ready to declare upon oath that since their strike they have received nothing from the funds of any Trade Society. But to go on with the history. The case, as presented to the Mansion House Committee, was so strong that they resolved to suspend all relief for two days till the matter was explained. The knot certainly was complicated, and Mr. Applegarth, the secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters, attended before the Lord Mayor as the divinity to untie it. It was not a strike, only a misunderstanding; the men were not Unionists, at least only two of them were, and they gloried in being Unionists; as for the others, they only felt that it was a degradation "to think of educating and maintaining a family satisfactorily on 30s. a week." This dodge succeeded to some extent, and though fervid Mr. Rowsell's motion that "the explanation was satisfactory" fell dead from want of a seconder, a resolution was carried, by a majority of one, to go on administering relief; and the subject, so far, dropped. Dropped, that is, as far as the Mansion House was concerned; but Messrs. Pontifex had something more to say. They testified that whether the thirty men were Unionists or not, they admitted that they had struck, or abandoned their work, because they had been threatened and terrorized; and Messrs. Pontifex added, not unnaturally, that "it was the duty of the Relief Committee to see that they are not assisting to maintain wages at a forced level, thus keeping trade away from London, and prolonging the very distress which it is their mission to mitigate."

Now, taking this incident on the most favourable side, it amounts to this:—Twenty-eight men, non-Unionists, at the dictation of two others, pronounced and boastful Unionists, struck, or declined to receive 34s. per week, and the twenty-eight men all but admit that they were great fools; and, on the other hand, the public is tolerably well persuaded that the other two men were something very different from fools. Well; philanthropy and tender-heartedness on a narrow division prevail, and, as some of the clergy say Hang theology, so some of them cry, Hang economy! and at the Mansion House the compassionate view of the matter was adopted. The Associated Committees were not convoked to discuss or to go into trade matters; their business was to relieve distress wherever it existed, even though the result should be that they increased it by the very act of lessening it. The stream of charity ought not to be averted or dammed up by "such a paltry pretext as this"—that hundreds should suffer for the folly or wrong-doing of thirty men is absolute cruelty, a thing not to be thought of. This was the successful clerical argument; but as we have by anticipation met and refuted this fallacy, we shall not repeat our dissent from it. All that we have to remark is that the public does not seem to see the matter in the same light as the clerical gentlemen, who, to do them a sort of justice, seem now disposed to blow cold as they blew hot last week, and to be rather anxious to scramble as they can out of a very sentimental but very silly, if not mischievous, position. The week which witnessed the incident which we have recorded, or rather the discussion which ensued upon it, produced to the fund the magnificent sum of 190*l.*, and all the money in hand scarcely exceeded 500*l.* This was the public answer to the resolution, carried by a single voice, to go on administering relief in spite of the Millwall strike. Whereupon Mr. Rowsell, who a week before said that the excuses offered by the thirty men were quite satisfactory, suddenly found out that as now there was little money to give away, the Committee had better not give much, especially as the public saw how the distress had decreased and how fine the weather was, and therefore had ceased to subscribe. We are not disposed to quarrel with a man's right to make what pillow he can to receive a disagreeable fall; but we must be permitted to think that Mr. Rowsell's statements are quite beside, and indeed opposed to, the facts. The distress has not decreased, nor is it likely to decrease, at present. Mr. Corbett is quite convinced that throughout March the distress will remain, and perhaps may be aggravated; and another speaker, Mr. Kingsford, hit the mark when he ventured to remark—not that the fine weather had stopped the subscriptions, but—"that the patience and generosity of the public were worn out, having regard to the influence of Trades' Unions in the distressed quarters." It is a satisfaction to find that this candid avowal came from a local clergyman, the Rector of Shadwell. And this is the fact, and we had better make the best or the worst of it. The worst is bad enough. We are quite certain that cobblers and costermongers, seamstresses and old sick folk, will suffer, and suffer sadly; "tales that would move a heart of stone" will be told, and truly told; and the suffering will be great, pitifully great. But it is worse than folly not to face the facts. We must either go on condoning the Unionists, and pretending to believe, which nobody does believe, that all this poverty is totally unconnected "with the state of things at Millwall"—that is, with the principle of Unionism, and make up our minds to relieve distress wherever it exists, and howsoever it exists—in a word, we must play into the hand of the Unionists, encourage them to persevere till they have driven trade out of London, and in the long run out of the kingdom; or we must at once severely and resolutely draw the line, and keep to it. The United Relief Committee, as its members must acknowledge, has turned out to be a sad failure. They have adjourned till Monday "to ascertain their own position," as though that was not sufficiently plain. We should counsel them "not so much to take

the public into their confidence" as to make up their own minds. They can do two things, and only two; either they can, or rather they must, boldly hoist the flag of indiscriminate charity, and openly proclaim that they care nothing, and are resolved to know nothing, about the causes of distress, but that while they have a shilling they will spend it on poverty wherever they find it; or—they must cease to exist. Some persons—and we are not inclined to deal hardly with benevolence of this kind—will give for the simple duty or luxury or idleness of giving, as the receipts of the Relief and Religious Association show; but, on the other hand, as the bankruptcy of the United Executive Committee proves, by far the majority of givers know that there are cases, and that this is one of them, in which charity clearly is a mistake, and even a wrong.

PROMOTION IN THE NON-PURCHASE CORPS.

THE efficiency of our scientific corps is a matter that demands to be discussed on other grounds than those of mere economy. The armies of Europe are competing with each other in the power and completeness of their artillery. Our newspapers, filled with controversies on new inventions in ordnance and in projectiles, testify to the public interest in these questions. Every year sees a demand for new acquisitions on the part of artillery officers already highly instructed. In their youth these gentlemen are specially and elaborately trained, they pass their lives in a service which implies the constant application of scientific knowledge, and they are expected to uphold the honour of England, in preparation for war as well as in war itself, against the pupils of the military schools of the great Continental Powers. The fact is universally recognised among us that our officers of artillery and engineers are very generally men of high capacity and attainments. When the question is how to maintain these corps at the standard indicated by the requirements of the present and the prospects of the future, it is evident that to deal with it in a narrow spirit, to be comparatively careless how these branches of the service are officered so that it be done cheaply, would be false and ruinous economy. The report of the Committee appointed to investigate the system of promotion in non-purchase corps will, it is expected, shortly be made the subject of discussion in Parliament; that discussion, let us hope, will be undertaken by members who have been at pains to gain the information necessary to enable them to speak with authority, and who will have at heart the interests of the officers so deeply concerned, as well as of the public service.

A remedy of some kind is rendered necessary by the failure of the present system to avert a degree of future stagnation which would be very prejudicial to the efficiency of the artillery and engineers. Twenty years ago the senior lieutenants of those corps were approaching middle age, the senior captains were elderly men, the colonels mostly unfit for active duties. Very different is the present condition of those bodies, with their young captains, their lieutenant-colonels in the prime of life, and their colonels scarcely beyond that period. This change is owing to a variety of causes. In a state of stagnation, such as existed formerly, all ranks get choked with old officers. But when the higher ranks are filled altogether with men beyond sixty, a few years must see them removed in great numbers. This of itself will cause a certain flow of promotion. But by that time the evil will have risen to such a height that attempts will be made further to accelerate promotion; and in war-time the necessity for rapidly filling all ranks with men of an efficient age will be at its extreme, while the vacancies will be unusually numerous.

All these conditions (besides the important one of a very large augmentation of the corps) were realized about the time of the Crimean war. The upper ranks were full of old officers. Colonels were seventy, lieutenant-colonels long past fifty. The present system of retirement was brought to the aid of natural causes, and the war created its additional vacancies. Hence a sudden and rapid acceleration. Men became captains at twenty-five or twenty-six, passed rapidly through the grade, and are now lieutenant-colonels, while the captains of longer service are now colonels, and are younger than the senior captains of the earlier period. But these men will not make vacancies rapidly; death and disqualification, physical or mental, will not largely remove them. Therefore the prospects of promotion for those of junior grade are getting worse every year. Every year fewer vacancies will occur as those very old officers who still remain disappear. By and by there will be no very old officers, and the former state of things will recur, till whole grades, being of about the same age, will be swept away in a few years, and the corps will for a time breathe again. But this jerky spasmodic action affects unequally whole generations, and it is to prevent its recurrence that a revision of the existing scheme becomes necessary. That scheme consists of the allotment of a fixed annual sum to retirements by offering major-generals or colonels 600*l.* a year, and lieutenant-colonels 400*l.* a year, and sums equivalent to regimental pay to others, none being permitted so to retire before the end of thirty years' service. Besides this, six officers of artillery, and three engineers, may annually retire on permanent half-pay after twenty-five years' service. Lastly, the Army Reserve Fund has at times been available to buy out officers of the two corps, but only to the average extent of one a year. The objections to this system are stated by the Committee to be, first, the want of clear principle, inasmuch as retirement depends on an accidental and very uncertain amount of balance in a fixed fund; secondly, that its

operation appears to be to remove juniors rather than inefficient seniors (because the latter prefer to stay on in expectation of the higher emoluments of colonel-commandant, or of remunerative employment); thirdly, and chiefly, the paralysis which must ensue after a few years, unless the system be enlarged or supplemented. The Committee very justly remark that the objects of any system should be twofold—namely, to secure adequate provision to the officer when no longer fit for active service, and to give the Government means of keeping each rank in an efficient state, and of getting rid of worn-out officers. The main question is evidently one of money. Provision must be made for much more numerous retirements. Besides rendering the voluntary retirements unlimited in number after a certain amount of service, the Committee propose to introduce the new principle of compulsory retirement after a certain age; the following being the main details of the scheme (extending to all the non-purchase corps) by which they propose to supersede all existing modes of effecting the object:—

1. That at the age of sixty every colonel of artillery or engineers be placed on a reserved list, and, while on that list, be considered ineligible for ordinary regimental duties, but eligible for staff or special employments, if selected by the military authorities. That an officer so removed should receive the pay of a major-general, and retain his right of succession to the major-general's establishment, and to the command of a battalion.

2. That every colonel thus removed shall have the option of retiring from the army on 600*l.* a year, with a step of honorary rank.

3. That every officer, after completing 22 years' service, shall have the absolute right to retire, with a step of honorary rank, according to a scale, varying, in the ratio of the length of his service, from 250*l.* to 600*l.* a year.

4. That provision be made by Parliament to enable an officer to compound (through the agency of the National Debt Office) his annuity for its "present value," regard being had to his age and the state of his health, and the computation of value being at five per cent. interest.

5. That it should be in the discretion of the military authorities to employ or not any officer who shall have acquired the right to retire on a pension.

It would at first sight appear that nothing could be more liberal, or better calculated to effect its ends, than this scheme. And we do not mean to say that it is not, in many respects, a good one. But, after all, the test of its goodness must be the degree of certainty and promptitude with which a flow of promotion is secured. Now the removal of all officers who attain the age of sixty will at least be a guarantee that the colonels will rarely be incompetent for their duties from age or length of service. But the rule cannot take practical effect in the artillery for some years, since the senior officers of that corps are at present some years short of sixty. When it does take effect, therefore, the corps will be, and will remain, in a less advantageous condition than now, because the colonels, and indeed officers of all ranks, will be at a higher average of age than at present. Again, the colonels are to be offered at sixty the alternative of taking 600*l.* a year, or awaiting, on a much smaller income, the chances of staff employment, which are infinitesimally small, or of becoming colonels-commandant. But hitherto it has been found difficult (so says the evidence) to induce the seniors to take 600*l.* a year; the retirements have been accepted only by the juniors, and they have taken them because they would have had so many more years to wait for the larger prize. The presumption is that the income offered is not a fair equivalent for the advantages relinquished in giving up the service; and officers of sixty will either refuse the offered annuity, in which case that part of the measure will be inoperative, or they will be forced to accept it against their will, by the alternative of receiving a lower rate of pay—namely, that of major-general. It might be expedient, therefore, that, in accordance with the principle of securing adequate provision to the officer, the retirement should be raised to 700*l.* a year—a proposition which, we believe, was only defeated in the Committee by the narrowest majority. The list of those removed from the regiment would thus include many who would otherwise await the chance of a colonel-commandantship, and who would consequently obstruct the prospects of their successors. And it might also be desirable that supposing the plan of the Committee to be adopted, a certain limited number of retirements of 600*l.* a year should still be offered to the colonels until the seniors come under the operation of the new rule. These concessions would, in fact, be but bare justice to a class of officers whose interests would otherwise materially suffer. The compulsory retirement would always be deemed, and would often really be, a great hardship; the colonels of thirty years' service would be forced to wait ten years longer for the retirement now open to them, and all officers of this rank would, without some compensatory advantages, have very considerable ground of complaint.

The part of the scheme which offers retirement after twenty-two years' service will open much more favourable prospects to captains than they before possessed. At first it might seem impolitic to give men in the prime of life any inducement to quit the service. It would seem as if the retirement of those at the top, giving promotion to all below, and removing those who have fewer years of vigour left, must be preferable. But there are reasons why the recommendation of the Committee is judicious. The colonels may be young enough for their rank, while the lieutenants may be comparatively old. The position of subaltern is that in

which the hardship of want of promotion is most felt, and where long delay produces most discontent and most impairs men's energies. Two captains may be retired at the cost of one colonel. Therefore (especially as the upward movement of the lieutenant-colonels and colonels is provided for by the limit of age) the retirements of those of lower rank would be advantageous to the corps. The question is, whether they would be accepted in numbers sufficient to secure adequate promotion. The average number of those who will be removed from the top year by year may easily be ascertained; and it may then be shown how many vacancies must take place by retirement in order that lieutenants shall become captains within a reasonable period. Fixing this period at from ten to twelve years (which is much longer than the average in the line), the requisite number of retirements may at once be known; and on the degree in which it fulfils that condition in practice the efficiency of the present scheme must mainly depend. The option of commuting the annuity for an equivalent sum will be, in many cases, a powerful inducement to retire. The education of the officers has fitted many of them for success in civil life, and the capital to start with would decide them to try a new career. Others hold temporary appointments, which they would render permanent by retiring with this compensation for the prospects they would abandon. Married men would, of course, generally choose a sum which they could leave to their families, rather than an income terminating with their own lives. And there are always officers to be found serving in the colonies who have contracted ties which would induce them to settle there if the means of making a fresh start in life were offered to them. From these causes, and others, we should expect a considerable increase in the number of those who annually retire; but we repeat that upon this number must depend the expediency of the scheme, and this, though no accurate estimate can be formed except by the test of experience, should be a point for strict investigation. To be successful the plan must, no doubt, be expensive. An attempt to restrict the cost below what the number of retirements necessary for promotion would entail, would ensure failure. The proposed scheme is liberally conceived, and should it fail when carried out with the amendments we have suggested, we know of no remaining remedy that would be practicable except a reorganization of the scientific branches of the service. There is, however, one error in the scheme which is so obvious that it can scarcely escape notice. The compounding of an officer's annuity, "regard being had to the state of his health," would give a premium to the retirement of the sound vigorous man, and deter him whose health was broken from quitting the service. An average sum should be offered in all cases. With this and the other alterations above indicated, the plan of the Committee appears to merit the favourable consideration of the Government.

AN ASCENT OF THE MATTERHORN.

MOST people who have been in Switzerland—and every one who has been anywhere has been in Switzerland—confess that they feel some curiosity about those strange highlands which of late years have been so thoroughly explored, and accounts of Alpine expeditions are often found interesting even by those who think that there was little sense in making them. Some description of a recent ascent of the Matterhorn from the southern side may not be dull for those who have seen that wonderful ruined pyramid blocking up the end of the beautiful Val Tournanche. A peculiar interest indeed attaches to this peak; the Donjon of the Alps, holding out after the surrounding towers had fallen, the Matterhorn, or great Mont Cervin, placed in the very heart of the Pennine range, remained unscathed after every adjacent summit had been trodden under foot. Monte Rosa, the huge Mischabel Hörner, the Lyskamm, the Weisshorn, the Dent Blanche, and a host of minor peaks were surmounted, but the Mont Cervin remained unclimbed, apparently impregnable; and when, at last, the stronghold was carried, four out of seven assailants found a terrible death on the cliffs of the vanquished mountain. It is not necessary to describe the many attempts which were made to climb the Matterhorn before the summit was reached. These unsuccessful expeditions were all made on the southern side of the mountain, until in 1865 Mr. Whymper and some other Englishmen tried the northern cliffs, and reached the top. During the descent the well-remembered accident occurred by which four of the party lost their lives. Two days after this ascent four mountaineers of the Val Tournanche, who declined to take a traveller with them on account of the danger, attempted the mountain from the south, starting from Breuil. Two of these attained the summit, and the whole party returned in safety to Breuil, where they heard for the first time of the accident, the news of which had not arrived at the time of their departure.

The disaster which occurred on the northern rocks gave the Matterhorn a sinister prestige; a sort of superstition about it seized even brave and skilful guides, and for two years the final peak remained untouched. In the August of the past year, however, Mr. Craufurd Grove, a member of the Alpine Club, ascended the Mount Cervin from the south, passing over the whole route which it had taken so long a time and so many laborious efforts to discover on the most abrupt of European mountains. The northern side was, or was considered, impracticable on account of the unusual amount of snow which covered it; at all events, in the beginning of August, no guide could be found who was willing to try it, and at Zermatt the common belief was that

an attempt on the Matterhorn, whether from the north or the south, was certain to end in disaster. On the southern face, however, which gets the full glare of the Italian sun, the rocks were bare, and the *chasseurs* of the Val Tournanche, who are very hardy and intrepid mountaineers, were ready to undertake the ascent of a mountain which they considered as their own, and to which they looked alike for honour and profit. Three of these were enlisted for the expedition—Jean Antoine Carrel, a *bersagliero* who had fought at Novara and Solferino, and to whose admirable skill and judgment the success of the ascent was due; J. B. Bich, and Salaman Meynet, both of whom worked excellently. Carrel and Bich were the two men who had made the previous ascent from Breuil. The party left Breuil at day-break on the morning of August 13, and crossed the grass slopes to the glacier which lies under the great cliffs of the Mont Cervin. An easy walk over gently-inclined snow-slopes brought them to the foot of a snow couloir, leading to the Col de Lion, which lies at the foot of the great southern ridge of the mountain. Up this gully the explorers scrambled, and quitting it a little below the Col climbed some very easy rocks to their right, and gained without the slightest difficulty the foot of the tremendous south-western arête or ridge of the Matterhorn. Here was the true starting-point of the expedition; the ascent to this place had not been in the smallest degree interesting or difficult, but with the commencement of the south-western ridge the whole character of the ascent changed. The cliffs of the Cervin were now to be encountered, and a way to be taken through those gloomy and precipitous defences which for so long a time had resisted all comers. It is necessary to say a few words about the shape of the western side of the mountain, in order to make intelligible any description of the route to the summit. The Matterhorn is singularly simple and severe in form. Probably no mountain in the Alps is so little encumbered with secondary ridges or subordinate peaks; the great arêtes fall unbroken and undivided, and to prop this immense pinnacle only one buttress has been needed—L'Épaule du Mont Cervin, which hangs over Breuil and the Val Tournanche. To the west the mountain is divided with remarkable clearness and distinctness into two great arêtes or ridges, the northern and southern. The northern falls from the summit to the Zmutt glacier, showing that well-known outline at which so many thousands of tourists have gazed from Zermatt; between this and the other arête is a great unbroken curve of smooth and most steep rock, for the most part hopeless and unassailable. The southern arête does not spring so directly from the summit as the northern, only becoming distinctly articulated at a point some distance below the peak, and running in a southerly direction to the shoulder, that great buttress of the mountain already spoken of, which is inferior in height to the Matterhorn itself only by 811 feet. At the summit of the shoulder the ridge turns towards the west, and falls to the Col du Lion.

It was by this southern ridge that Professor Tyndall and Mr. Whymper made their numerous and determined attempts to reach the summit from the south, and it was by this ridge that the southern ascent was ultimately made; up this therefore the route on this occasion also lay. A very strange and beautiful route it proved to be. The slow irregular process of destruction in which nature delights has fretted and gnawed the battlements into the wildest Gothic towers and spires, and the explorer has to work his way round and under these, sometimes climbing to the arête, sometimes descending far below it, going up steep clefts and along narrow ledges, and over small sheets of snow, and finding those perpetual changes in the nature of handhold and foothold which give a peculiar variety and charm to the whole ascent of the Matterhorn. The Italian Alpine Club, with great liberality, have caused a grotto or refuge to be made very high up on the shoulder, and Mr. Grove and his guides occupied the first day of their expedition in reaching this place. The way thither, though a fine climb, was not found to be very difficult or in the least dangerous, as the careful Val Tournanche guides who have been employed to make the grotto have, in their frequent journeys to and from it, fastened ropes over most of the bad places. They have also given quaint names to portions of the route to the grotto. Thus there are *Le Col du Lion*—the starting-point; *La Cheminée*—a short steep gully in the rock, as cleanly and regularly cut as though artificially made; *Les Degrés de la Tour*—a huge tower here rises on the arête, round the foot of which the climber passes by narrow ledges; *Le Vallon des Glaçons*—a very steep rugged gully in the rock; *Le Mauvais Pas*—a series of small shelves which run under the arête; *Le Lincent*—the ominous name of a very steep patch of snow which breaks for a small space the great front of the southern precipice; and *La Crête du Coq*—a cliff which Professor Tyndall and his guide Bennen had great difficulty in climbing when they ascended the shoulder in 1863. On the descent they found the place so dangerous that they fastened a rope to help them, which of course had to be left there; the Val Tournanche guides have now replaced this by a stronger and thicker one, which removes all difficulty. The ascent to the *Crête du Coq* brings the traveller once more to the arête, which is ascended to a place only some half-hour's scramble from the summit of the shoulder, where the arête is quitted, and the *cravate* is traversed to the grotto or refuge.

This strange mountain-nest merits description. The *cravate*, or, as it was called before the Matterhorn was ascended, "*Le Collier de la Vierge*," is a thin band of snow crossing the southern face of the shoulder some three hundred feet below the summit of that buttress. At one place on the higher side of this band the

rock first slopes back at a small angle, and then overhangs. A flat floor has been scooped out of the receding part of the rock, and a little hut erected under the shelter of the overhanging mass above, the snow in front forming a natural terrace or esplanade below which there is a tremendous precipice. It is impossible to give any idea by words of the utter isolation of this wonderful eyrie. The man who has reached it finds himself hemmed in on every side by the gigantic cliffs of the Matterhorn. A huge steep rock, round which he has twisted with difficulty, hides from him the path by which he came; on the other side the precipice sinks vertical and unbroken; above is a rugged overhanging mass, and in front the strange little terrace of snow, beyond which there is again a terrific fall. Many a cottage perched high up is called an eagle's nest; but this is in truth such a spot as an eagle or even a lammergeyer might well choose to build in, and probably nowhere else in the world has man made himself a resting-place so isolated and so hard of access. The height of the grotto is 13,655 feet, of the shoulder 13,976 feet, and of the Matterhorn 14,787. The party arrived at this refuge in the afternoon, watched one of those Alpine sunsets which none but the profane ever try to describe, and coiled themselves up like marmots in the then half-finished hut. In the Alps a man can sleep anywhere, just as he can eat anything.

The party started at about half-past five the next morning to grapple with the difficulties of the final peak. Leaving the grotto, the traveller retraces his steps along the *cravate* to the arête; an easy climb brings him to the top of the shoulder, and to the signal which marks the point attained by Professor Tyndall and Bennen; from here the crest of the ridge is followed to the place where it abuts against the main peak. The arête is broken and jagged; one huge tower overtopping the summit of the shoulder has to be surmounted, as it cannot be passed on either side; and the whole, without being of excessive difficulty, gives an exhilarating scramble. It should be added that this part of the ascent is very trying to the head; the fall on the right is tremendous. Having passed along the ridge, and standing at the foot of the main peak with all minor obstacles overcome, Mr. Grove and his guides came at last in view of what was at the time of their expedition the great difficulty of the southern ascent—the gallery, or corridor; and though this part of the route has already been superseded, and a shorter and easier way to the summit discovered, the passage of this grim causeway proved so strange a piece of mountain work as to be worth describing. At the time it was thought impossible to go from the head of the southern arête to the top of the peak; nor did Mr. Grove make any attempt to see whether this could be done; by following the route which had been crossed by the Italian guides in 1865, he was at least more likely to reach the summit than by tempting the chances of unknown precipices. But, pleasant as *mauvais pas* are ordinarily to the cragsman, there are places in the Alps which exceed the due limits of badness; and future travellers on the Matterhorn need not perhaps regret that the passage of the *galerie* will no longer be among the incidents of their ascent. The western face of the mountain plunges with extraordinary steepness in nearly continuous slabs almost from the summit to the glacier at its feet. Four thousand feet above this glacier the smooth slope is broken by a small ledge, inclined itself at a sensible angle. The polished rock is destitute of handhold above, and the climber must sustain himself by the grip of his feet or by the fineness of his balance on a space sometimes perhaps two or three feet, but sometimes, also, only as many inches, broad. If he leans against the rocks to his side he increases his chance of slipping; if he slips he falls, and with him fall the whole of his companions. Over this evil place the party slowly made their way, Carrel leading with admirable skill, and finding here and there a small chink in the rock where he was able to drive in nails with hooks at the end, through which the rope was passed. This gave a slight security in some places, but nevertheless the hour and a quarter passed in traversing *la galerie* are strongly marked in the memory of one of the party.

It is not possible to go straight from the end of the gallery into the northern arête; the only way of reaching that ridge is to drop down a gully of which the top overhangs the base, so that it is of course necessary to fix a rope. Walking along a thin strip of snow at the bottom of this cleft the traveller comes out at last on the arête, and looks down on the Zermatt valley—a sudden and marvellous change of scene—and then, by a fine climb up the difficult and treacherous northern ridge, the summit of the Matterhorn is gained. The top of this famous mountain is a long thin ridge of snow, with some slight undulations, the highest portion being near the western end; and indeed the general shape of the peak is very nearly what it appears to be from Zermatt; of course the western end, being further from Zermatt than the eastern, appears to be the lowest.

Mr. Grove and his guides stayed a very short time on the western end of the ridge, and then descended, as the day was well advanced when they reached the summit, and as it was uncertain how long a time the descent might occupy. They passed a second night in the grotto, and the next day descended to Breuil. A short time after Mr. Grove's expedition some guides of the Val Tournanche who conceived the strange idea of taking a girl up the mountain, and who got her to the place where the gallery begins, discovered that it was possible to go from the head of the southern arête to the top of the mountain by a route shorter and less difficult than that leading over the gallery and northern arête. On a portion of this new way they fastened a rope. An

English traveller, Mr. Leighton Jordan, who ascended, it is believed, by this route, not only explored the whole of the summit ridge, but actually descended some distance on the ice-covered northern side. After this the late autumn snow at length restored to the Matterhorn the repose which it had enjoyed for so many ages before Alpine Clubs were invented, and before men strove to set foot on the summits of great mountains.

REVIEWS.

DAVID GARRICK.*

IN the familiar group of statesmen, wits, authors, and artists who represent the intellectual activity of England between 1740 and 1780 there is no more prominent or agreeable figure than that of David Garrick. It is continually passing before us in the correspondence of Walpole and Gray, in the memoirs of Cumberland, Madame D'Arblay, and Hannah More; and it is his name and doings which lend the chief interest to the biographies of Macklin, Mrs. Bellamy, Tate Wilkinson, and others of his stage contemporaries. In Boswell's "Johnson" he is a conspicuous figure. In Boswell's very first interview with his hero, his ignorance of Johnson's strangely inverted love for the actor, which was constantly venting itself in splenetic sallies against him, but would never listen with patience to a word said in disparagement of him by another, drew down upon the future biographer one of those surly rebuffs of which he was afterwards to have so many. "What do you think of Garrick?" said Johnson to Tom Davies, who was by. "He has refused me an order to the play for Miss Williams, because he knows the house will be full, and that an order would be worth three shillings." Garrick had given the lady a free benefit at his theatre a few years before, by which she had realized two hundred pounds. "Oh, Sir," broke in the fussy Scotchman, not dreaming how little Johnson meant by this sally, "I cannot think Mr. Garrick would grudge such a trifle to you." "Sir," said Johnson, turning upon him with a stern look, "I have known David Garrick longer than you have done; and I know no right you have to talk to me on the subject." The incident was typical. All through Boswell's book Garrick's name provokes Johnson's sarcasm, if other people praise; or kindles his praise, if other people censure. Which of the two was genuine we very soon discover. Johnson never quite forgave his old pupil and friend for a success so much more rapid and, in a worldly sense, more brilliant than his own. The latent grudge found its way to the surface every now and then, in such sneers as "What! respect a player!" "Feelings, pooh! Punch has no feelings." When he contrasted his own social position, and unattractive person and manners, with those of the handsome and vivacious actor to whom not England only but Europe was continually offering up incense, whose society was courted by the ablest and best men and most gifted and beautiful women of the time, who had achieved wealth by his own unaided efforts, and graced it by the refinement of his tastes and the bounteousness of his hospitality, some soreness at the contrast was only human. But Johnson loved the man in his heart, and in his better moods did him full justice. The pity is that the instinct for detraction, which unluckily makes so many of us remember a man's virtues less vividly than his faults, or what are said to be his faults, has caused his sarcasm on Garrick to be more often quoted than his praise.

Of his powers as an actor, or indeed of what powers go to make a great actor, Johnson was clearly no judge. To him an actor was a mere declaimer of other people's words—"a fellow, sir, who claps a hump on his back and a lump on his leg, and cries 'I am Richard the Third.'" So little discrimination had he that he found "a fine airy vivacity" in the Sir Harry Wildairs of a country player whom Garrick pronounced "as insufferably vulgar a ruffian as ever trod the boards." The opinion of such a critic on Garrick's or any other person's acting is of course worthless. But when he comes to speak to us of the man and the writer, we listen with respect. "Garrick's prologues and epilogues," he tells us, "are incomparable." "Dryden has written prologues superior to any that David Garrick has written; but David Garrick has written more good prologues than Dryden has done." Again, what was the opinion of this great master of the art of talking of Garrick's gifts in the same way? "Garrick's gaiety of conversation has delicacy and elegance." "He is the first man in the world for sprightly conversation." And, in a conversation with Mrs. Siddons, reported by her brother John Kemble—where, for once, Johnson did justice to Garrick as an actor, saying that "a true conception of character, and natural expression of it, were his distinguished excellences"—he concluded with the remark, "But, after all, madam, I thought him less to be envied on the stage than when at the head of a table." And what the character of his conversation in mixed society was Johnson also tells us. "It was gay and grotesque. It was a dish of all sorts, but all good things." We may set these details against his occasional splenetic allusions to his lively friend's buffooning. When the "abridgment of all that was pleasant in man" was sleeping in Westminster Abbey, Johnson said of him "he was the cheerfulness of his age"; and we know from

other sources that his gaiety never went beyond "the limits of becoming mirth"—that it was not purchased, like Foote's, and that of so many wits, by the loss of his own self-respect, or at the cost of pain to other people.

So, too, when we hear of Garrick's being meanly parsimonious, and some loose words of Johnson are quoted to support the charge, let us set against them such passages as these—"Sir, I know that Garrick has given away more money than any man that I am acquainted with, and that not from ostentatious views." "Garrick was a very good man—a man who gave away freely money acquired by himself." More conclusive than all upon this and many other points, where Garrick's character was chiefly assailed by his detractors, are the words which Reynolds puts into Johnson's mouth in that admirable Imaginary Conversation between him and Gibbon, which Croker says Sir George Beaumont told him was not invention, but the substance of what Reynolds had heard Johnson say in many conversations. "That he loved money, nobody will dispute. Who does not? But if you mean, by loving money, that he was parsimonious to a fault, sir, you have been misinformed! To Foote, and such scoundrels, who circulated these reports, to such profligate spendthrifts, prudence is meanness, and economy is avarice." Precisely so. It was just by Foote and others of his class, who had made frequent appeals to him for money in large sums, and not made them in vain, that Garrick was slandered for meanness and avarice. None knew this better than Johnson and Reynolds; and with two such vouchers for his liberality, let Macklin, Foote, Murphy, and the like say their worst of him, the ultimate verdict is certain to be in his favour.

Johnson in many ways had reason to speak well of Garrick. In his prosperity, the successful actor and manager had a warm heart and hand for the poor scholar with whom he had come up to London to seek their fortunes; Johnson, to use his own mocking phrase, with twopenny halfpenny in his pocket, and Garrick with three halfpence in his. Among his first acts as manager was to bring out his friend's *Irene*, that most perfect specimen of what Johnson meant when he spoke of plays in which

Declamation roared, while passion slept;

and not only did he bring it out, but he lent his own great name and genius to the second part in the piece. Nor did Garrick ever lose his early admiration for his old preceptor. Very pleasant is the picture Boswell gives of his bustling about him with a kind of filial fondness at the Literary Club, and flattering the old man's pride with a subtle deference of homage. In this there was no servility, for, well as he knew how free Johnson at times made with his name, he could bear such passing slights for the sake of the old times and the core of true regard for him which he well knew to be in the heart of a man whose genius and worth threw all his foibles into the shade. Nor could this deference be otherwise than most grateful to Johnson; for here was a man of unquestionable genius, with fame, fortune, influence, and troops of friends at his command, throwing off all airs of superiority, if he had any, and placing himself humbly among the foremost of his admirers. People accused Garrick of being prone to play off too much the airs of a prosperous man. Such accusations successful men, however humble, are sure to provoke from the unsuccessful. One who knew human nature so well as Johnson could not fail to take a juster view of Garrick's demeanour. If all this good fortune, he said, "had happened to me, I should have had a couple of fellows with long poles walking before me, to knock down everybody that stood in my way. Consider, if all this had happened to Cibber or Quin, they'd have jumped over the moon. Yet Garrick speaks to us." Yes, dearly in his heart did that strange medley of nobleness and weakness love his Davie. When Davie died, a great piece of sunshine disappeared from Johnson's life. Better than the fine panegyric which he wrote of him a few months after that event, that it had "eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasure"—more convincing to our hearts of the high qualities as a man which he knew to have distinguished him who had never been less to him than the admiring friend of the old Edial days—is the picture shown to us in these words of Cumberland:—"I saw old Samuel Johnson standing beside his grave at the foot of Shakspeare's monument, and bathed in tears." Burke was there too, and showed no less emotion.

The reputation of Garrick is in a measure unique. He sprang at once to the very summit of his profession, without previous training or experience. From his childhood he had been fond of the theatre, and, like most boys who are so, he had appeared in private theatricals. But his instinct as an artist was too true to admit of his going deeply into such amateur trifling. He studied the living stage and its professors, and learned from their violation of truth and nature what at least it behoved him to avoid, before he could hope to realize the dream of histrionic greatness which haunted his youth. After a few trial performances at Ipswich, he appeared at Giffard's Theatre in Goodman's Fields as Richard the Third, and next morning awoke and found himself famous. The genius of the young actor took the town by storm. Dukes by the dozen, all the leaders of fashion, even Cabinet Ministers, drove down from the West-end to an obscure street in the City to see this great master of the passions. Pope himself came out to see him. "I saw," says Garrick, "our little poetical hero, dressed in black, seated in a side-box near the stage, and viewing me with a serious and earnest attention. His look shot and thrilled like

* *The Life of David Garrick; from Original Family Papers, and numerous Published and Unpublished Sources.* By Percy Fitzgerald, M.A., F.S.A., Author of "The Life of Sterne," "The Dear Girl," &c. 2 vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.

lightning through my frame, and I had some hesitation in proceeding, from anxiety and from joy. As Richard gradually blazed forth, the house was in a roar of applause, and the conspiring hand of Pope showered me with laurels." Well might the young actor's heart leap when he saw the deep searching eyes of the poet riveted upon him! Garrick worshipped genius; and here to judge him had come the, to him, most notable man of his time, the man who had moreover been familiar with his great predecessors, Betterton and Booth. What that judgment was is happily upon record. "That young man never had his equal as an actor, and he will never have a rival." The old actors tried to sneer at the youth who was teaching the town that nature and the stage need not of necessity be divorced. "This," said Quin, "is the wonder of a day; Garrick is a new religion; the people follow him as another Whitfield, but they will soon return to church again." But they did not return; and Garrick, great in epigram as in acting, turned the tables upon Quin by some happy lines, of which these have become proverbial:—

When doctrines meet with general approbation,
It is not heresy, but reformation.

His success was something to which his rivals were not likely to be soon reconciled. But the great tragic actress, Mrs. Porter, who had left both the stage and London, and could afford to be candid, may be believed when, having come up to town to see the new star, she said of him to a friend:—"He is born an actor, and does more at his first appearance than ever anybody did with twenty years' practice; and, good God, what will he be in time?"

Such success might well have turned any head. It did not turn Garrick's. He had both the modesty of true genius, which always sees before it a higher ideal than it reaches, and its patience, which spares no pains to rise nearer to its ideal. In this he stood alone among all the actors of his time, and by this he realized the anticipations both of Pope and Mrs. Porter. He knew well that no art demands a wider range of accomplishments, a more certain command of resources, than the actor's. The great player is called on to express

All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Which stir this mortal frame.

Voice, feature, action, are all subject to the strictest scrutiny. There are no second thoughts, no retouches. The right key must be struck at once, or failure ensues. No amount of practice will effect this if the inner nature of the artist has not been brought by culture to the point at which grace becomes instinctive, and passion in its wildest moods subordinated to an intuitively controlling taste. As Garrick wrote in 1764 to the young actor Powell, who had led the business at Drury Lane with brilliant success during his absence on the Continent:—"The famous *Baron* of France used to say that 'an actor should be nursed in the lap of queens,' by which he meant that the best accomplishments were necessary to form a great actor." He had proved the truth of this in his own practice, and the same culture which secured his pre-eminence on the stage brought him wealth and influence, for it made him prudent in his habits, skilful in the management of his theatre, and a loved and welcome guest wherever he went.

Nothing, indeed, strikes us as more remarkable in Garrick than his industry. Placed at the age of twenty-four at the very top of his profession; courted and caressed by society, of which, like all men who shine in it, he was fond; constantly extending his range of parts; with the management of a great theatre on his shoulders, and all the toil, anxiety, and irritation which that entails—nor was ever manager so worried as he by the insolence of authors and the jealous susceptibilities of actors—Garrick found time to write farces, to recast plays, to compose innumerable prologues, epilogues, and *vers de société*, and to keep up an immense correspondence, while at the same time he seems to have been as well read in the literature of Europe as other men who had little to do but to read. He gathered round him a fine library, the catalogue of which is still sought after by bibliophiles, and showed his genuine appreciation of our great drama by making the magnificent collection of old plays, now in the British Museum, to which Charles Lamb was mainly indebted for his *Specimens*. Fine libraries are formed by men who never read, but that Garrick's was formed, not for fashion's sake, but from a genuine love of literature, there is ample proof in his correspondence. Quick as were his powers, the amount of work gone through by him indicates a method and economy of time rarely combined with sensibility of temperament and vivacity of disposition like his. The wear and tear of such a life must have been immense. It began to tell upon him comparatively early. In January, 1757, when he had been only sixteen years on the stage, we find his friend Warburton—not then, but soon to be, a bishop—writing to him, "Hark you, my friend! Do not your frequent indispositions say (whatever your doctors may think fit to do), *Lusitani satis*? Is it *tanti* to kill yourself in order to leave a vast deal of money to your heirs?" As years went on the indispositions did not grow less frequent, nor the work lighter. But Garrick fought on manfully, doing his best for the public and his own profession, and very often sorely tried by both, but still, as Johnson said, "the cheerfulness of his age." He quitted the stage before any decay of his powers was perceptible; but the disease which a greater parsimony of his energies might have averted had taken fatal hold of his fine constitution, and within three years of his last performance that busy brain was still, and the fire of those marvellous eyes was quenched.

How much the toils of Garrick's life were soothed, and his

career prolonged, by the love of his charming wife it is easy to imagine. Her beauty lives for us in Hogarth's fine picture now at Windsor Castle, which represents her stealing behind her husband, and catching his pen, as he pauses to fix the thoughts as they flash before his fancy. The picture was painted for Garrick, and the catalogue of his sale states that it represents him writing his prologue to Foote's farce of *Taste*. We can fancy him at that point where, in illustration of the virtuoso's passion for the antique, he says,

Their Venus must be old, and want a nose!

when his reverie is broken by the saucy smile of as pretty a mouth and sweet a pair of eyes as ever made a husband's heart happy. How worthy of his love the fair Eva Maria Violette was, we can gather from a thousand sources. They were never separated. Her presence made his doubly welcome wherever they went, for she had as much *esprit* and sweetness as beauty. Garrick's friends were hers, and to the last he was lover as well as husband—*"l'heureux mari,"* as Madame Riccoboni writes—*"dont les regards lui descendent sans cesse, I love you!"* Even Foote, who respected nothing, and constancy in a husband least of all, softens in writing of her and her husband. "It has been my misfortune not to know Mrs. Garrick; but from what I have seen, and all I have heard, you will have more to regret when either she or you die than any man in the kingdom." She survived her lover-husband forty-three years, dying in October, 1822, at the age of eighty-nine, in the full possession of her faculties, and room was found for her in Westminster Abbey, beside her "dear Davie."

It is the life of this man that Mr. Percy Fitzgerald—having, it appears, performed a similar office for Sterne—has undertaken to write. That there was room for a good life of Garrick there can be no doubt. The memoirs by Murphy and Davies, valuable so far as they go, are both imperfect; and the sketch by Boaden prefixed to the two bulky quartos of Garrick's Correspondence published in 1831, though excellent in many respects, is somewhat meagre, and fails in turning to due account the valuable materials which lay ready to the writer's hands, in the letters to which it forms the introduction. From these and other scattered, though by no means recondite, sources of information the fullest light as to the man and the actor were to be drawn. But judgment, taste, a power of appreciating character, and of depicting it, with a special familiarity with the men and manners of the time, and the history and usages of the stage, were required for the task. The subject was, moreover, worthy of all the pains that a careful and conscientious writer could give it, and of that nice finish in execution of which Garrick's own performances were an example. In all these qualities Mr. Fitzgerald's work is painfully deficient. He has appropriated all that is good in the works of Murphy, Davies, and Boaden in the most wholesale way, without skill in condensation, and very constantly without acknowledgment, and he has thrown together, very confusedly, an immense quantity of miscellaneous materials from other sources, taking no pains to winnow what is worthless or even fictitious from what is characteristic and authentic. Mr. Fitzgerald shoots all kinds of rubbish upon his reader without mercy, and has manifestly never taken home to himself the wholesome axiom that the excellence of all books, and of biographies especially, lies quite as much in what the author does not write as in what he does. He suppresses nothing, not even himself. Nor does Mr. Fitzgerald fail only in the exercise of that discrimination which we have a right to demand in a biographer dealing with copious materials which it is his duty to sift for his reader. His workmanship is slovenly in the last degree. For grace of style it would be idle to look in a writer of Mr. Fitzgerald's class; but some little regard to method and grammar might not have been too much to expect. What is to be said of a man who could print such a passage as this? "Here, too, was seen that wild and witty and drunken Dr. Barrowby, who after a jovial life had died the death that so often attends a jovial life." Or this:—"He tried to get into the Royal Society, and when he was rejected, held up two old patrons, who had opposed his admission, in the most outrageous manner." We might fill columns with similar specimens of slipslop.

Mr. Fitzgerald, like all weak writers, is very hard upon former biographers. He takes infinite pains to point out Murphy's mistakes, which Boaden and others had pointed out before, as if the discovery of them were his own. He even accuses Boaden of having made a most arbitrary selection in printing the Garrick correspondence, "printing almost the least interesting, cutting up the letters, often suppressing the best portions and mistaking the sense." This is a most serious charge, but Mr. Fitzgerald has not even attempted to support it by evidence. Where in his book are these "best portions"? where anything more interesting than the letters actually printed by Boaden in 1831? Certainly not in Mr. Fitzgerald's volumes. Even in the sorry fragments of new matter which he prints, he, too, resorts to suppression of the most absurd kind. From a manuscript journal of Garrick's grandfather he quotes the notice by the writer of the death of a brother, "having suffered like a martyr with a retention." A retention of what? "Of urine," says the original, of which a copy is before us; but the fact was too gross for the squeamish taste of Mr. Fitzgerald! Why, then, quote the passage at all?

Without enthusiasm for his subject no man can write a good biography; but unless enthusiasm is controlled by judgment, biography degenerates into panegyric. So it has been with Mr. Fitzgerald. His portrait has no shadows. His avowed aim has been to show that his hero was "as great in Garrick as in Lear"—

a very laudable one if discreetly pursued, and one with which we heartily sympathise. But here it has not been discreetly pursued. "Estne quisquam, qui tibi purior, pudentior, humanior, officiosior, liberalior videatur?" might have been taken from Cicero's speech for Roscius as the motto of the book, for it is the question put to the reader all through these two bulky volumes with a very clumsy persistency. But Mr. Fitzgerald would have come much nearer his mark had he kept his enthusiasm in check by remembering Churchill's warning,

He hurts the most who lavishly commends.

THE MURATORIAN CANON.*

THE importance of the curious document which goes by the name of the "Muratorian fragment," in connexion with the evidence of the Canon of the New Testament, is well known. It is referred to in all inquiries about the subject, and it has been frequently published. And, as was to be expected in the case of a text of such interest, these republications have not been mere reprints; they profess in several instances to have been checked by repeated inspection and comparison of the manuscript on the part of competent judges. The fragment is not a long one, nor in an inaccessible library; and since Muratori first published it in 1740, it has frequently come under the eyes of scholars. It was collated by Dr. Nott, whose work was used by Dr. Routh in the last edition of the *Reliquiæ sacre*; it was collated again by Professor F. Wieseler in 1847, and independently in the same year by M. Hertz, whose readings were published by Bunsen in his *Analecta Ante-nicæna*. Besides these collations, the text had been critically dealt with, and attempts at restoration made by various eminent scholars—Routh, Credner, Hilgenfeld, Bunsen, and Mr. Westcott—whose conjectures and emendations implied a thorough knowledge of what the manuscript did contain, or else suggested, if there could be any doubt, the propriety of the most accurate and minute investigation of it. Any one would have thought that with such a document, so short, so interesting, and so repeatedly canvassed, there could be nothing more to do as regards the absolute exactness of the critical reproduction of its contents. It might be difficult to ascertain its authorship or its date, or to interpret its meaning; but it might be supposed that every one would be agreed about its words, and the outward characteristics of its form and writing. It is almost one of the curiosities of literature that, so far from this being the case, matters open to the decision, not of criticism, but of the eye, have been differently stated by scholars who have had the manuscript before them. "The fragment begins in the middle of a page, after a considerable space," says Professor F. Wieseler, who made a collation of it: in fact, it begins without any space at the top of a page, as the continuation of a page that has been lost. "The text of our MS," said Credner in 1847, "is corrupt beyond measure, owing to the boundless ignorance of the copyist." "The MS," says Professor Volkmar, the editor of Credner's work, "is so little a corrupt one, that it rather belongs to the most correct." The whole piece, thought Thiersch in 1845, is of so strange a character that he threw out a suggestion whether it was not all a hoax, a "sportive mystification of the editor Muratori," to caricature, we suppose, the barbarous copyists of the ninth century. It is not surprising that, with discrepancies like these on matters which are obvious to the eye, there should be variation in the collations of the text. All this odd difference of apparent accuracy in a matter where verbal accuracy was all that was needed, attracted the attention of Dr. Tregelles, and made him desirous to make out with his own eyes, and once for all, what were the rights of the matter; as it also led Mr. Westcott to make the minute examination of which the results are given in his second edition of his book on the Canon of the New Testament. But Dr. Tregelles was not satisfied with merely a revised list of readings. His mind was set on making such a copy of the manuscript as might stand in place of the original itself, both for the examination of scholars, and to preserve this unique record in all its peculiarities, in case of any accident befalling the original. He obtained permission to make a facsimile of the fragment, and this facsimile, with Dr. Tregelles's remarks, has been published by the Delegates of the Press at Oxford; with the significant motto, very appropriate to any report of evidence, and highly applicable to the case in question—*ὅ τε γὰρ γρῶς καὶ μὴ σαφὲς διδάσκει ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐν ἐνθυμίσῃ*.

For all practical purposes this facsimile may, no doubt, be considered sufficient. But it is curious to observe the fatality which in some cases, where a thing might easily be done in the most complete manner, makes it to be done in a way which is short of the most complete. A facsimile traced by a man like Dr. Tregelles may be relied upon as little less than absolutely exact as a representation of the forms and position of every letter; but a photograph gives what is more than the best approximation to exactness; it gives absolute exactness. Again, the tracing, as published, has been revised and compared with the original, not by Dr. Tregelles himself, but by Dr. Ceriani at Milan. Doubtless, this gives the guarantee of a double supervision, and Dr. Tregelles attests the extreme care and attention which was paid to the revision of what may be called his "proofs." When he examined his tracing just after it was made in 1857, with Bunsen, every point of doubt which arose, however minute, was referred to Dr. Ceriani; and as the "corrections in the MS. are sometimes

very faint," Dr. Ceriani had in one case to wait for a day sufficiently clear to enable him to be certain of what he saw. All this gives great security in accepting the facsimile. Only, after all that Dr. Tregelles has told us as to the extraordinary possibilities of mistakes it would have been still more satisfactory if, in the final comparison of the proof with the manuscript, we had had Dr. Tregelles's eye to trust to as well as Dr. Ceriani's. How easily mistakes are made by the most careful corrector may be seen in the omission of an important word, *profectionem*, in Dr. Tregelles's edition of the text (p. 39, line 7).

The "Muratorian Canon" is curious in several respects. It is a scrap of about eighty lines, without beginning or end, written, according to competent judges, in the eighth or ninth century. It was published by Muratori in the *Antiquitates Italice*, not so much for its own sake as for the purpose of exemplifying the incredible ignorance and blunders of the scribes of that dark age. He found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan a Latin manuscript on parchment, written in capitals, which had come from the famous monastery of Columbanus at Bobbio. It professed in its title to contain works of St. Chrysostom; but it contained nothing of the sort. It was a commonplace book, or more properly a scrap-book, full of miscellaneous theological extracts and pieces; allegorical explanations from Eucherius of Lyons, bits of homilies, memoranda about this or that apostle, and a number of creeds and expositions of faith. Among these extracts, which have no arrangement, was a fragment of which the beginning appears to have been torn out of the volume, about the writings of the apostles. Muratori was unable to assign it to any known writer, though from internal evidence he guessed that it might be a fragment of the Roman Presbyter Caius. But, at any rate, it claimed to be very early; for the writer speaks of the "Shepherd" of Hermas having been written "nuperrime temporibus nostris" in the city of Rome, Pius, the brother of Hermas, being then Bishop of the Roman see—i.e. in the middle of the second century. Muratori saw that it was a new and curious piece; but his special reason for printing it was to show what work the barbarian transcribers made of Latin orthography and grammar. "Vidistin' quot vulnera frustulo huic antiquitatis inflixerit librarium incuria et ignorantia"? And certainly the "sordes et errores" are of a remarkable kind. Concordances set at nought, letters interchanged, inflexions twisted into strange shapes, constructions hopelessly dislocated, astound a reader accustomed to the regularity of our printed books. It may be noticed that a number of these blunders anticipate some of the Italian forms which have now become fixed; such as the interchange of *u* and *o* (*decipolis, secundum*), and the dropping of the final *m*. "It is scarcely likely," says Mr. Westcott, "that *interpretatione* and *interpretatione* could have been copied severally from a legible original":—probably the transposition of the *r* was the familiar form to the scribe, as it is a common form in Italian books.

But the Germans soon found out that the Muratorian fragment had a much greater interest than that of being a signal example of incapacity in middle age scribes to write from dictation. It turned out to contain a list in order of the books of the New Testament; it very soon appeared that it was the first list of the kind known to exist, and that it was a list belonging to the middle of the second century. Hence the attention bestowed upon it—attention evidenced by the long list of works quoted by Dr. Tregelles, from 1740 to 1866, in which it has been subjected again and again to the criticism of keen and able writers; and hence the strangeness of the circumstances which have led to Dr. Tregelles's publication, that, with so many scholars interested in it and busying themselves about it, the text had never been thoroughly and satisfactorily scrutinized till he, and also Mr. Westcott, went to Milan to verify and correct the reports about it with their own eyes.

We may feel pretty safe that we have now all that an inspection of the pages themselves of the volume could tell us. But what the "Muratorian Canon" itself is, remains still open to a good deal of question. Its structure is of the strangest. It begins and ends abruptly; but this is probably because a leaf is lost, and the scribe had written as much as he wanted, or got puzzled among names of which he knew nothing. But whether it is to be taken as a statement complete in itself, or an extract, or a string of separate extracts, and whether these extracts are from a continuous paragraph, or imply the form of a dialogue; and, again, whether it was originally composed in Latin, or bears evidence of being a translation from the Greek—are still questions. One thing seems clear, that the copyist of the eighth century, however ignorant and careless he may have been himself, had a very puzzling original to transcribe. And there can scarcely be a doubt, we think, that much of the puzzling Latin arose from its being originally a translation from the Greek; as Dr. Tregelles says, a very "rough and rustic one," whatever the Greek may have been. It is too much to argue that it could not be Latin, "because it is not African, and there is no evidence of the existence of Christian Latin literature out of Africa till about the close of the second century"; for though Greek may have been the prevailing language among the Roman Christians, it is a bold negative to assume that there were no Latin speaking Christians even in Rome, and that they never would write such a piece as this in their own language, even though nothing of this writing has come down to us. But the appearance of strange idioms, answering, if they are taken as dog-Latin interpretations, to many common Greek ones, suggests irresistibly the probability

* *Canon Muratorianus*. Edited, with Notes and Facsimile, by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1867.

of translation. "*Nihil differt credentium fidei*," is explicable, and explicable only, if we suppose that it stands for *οὐδὲν διαφέρει τῇ τῶν πιστευόντων πίστει*.

Dr. Tregelles, besides giving a facsimile and careful transcript of the fragment, reviews all that has been said to throw light on its many obscurities, and further shows its place and bearing in reference to the rest of the early evidence upon the New Testament canon. He offers some ingenious explanations of the extraordinary Latin puzzles of the text, but he is unable to help us much as to the original purpose and the source of the extract; for extract there can be no doubt that it is. He is unable to connect it with any known writer; but he calls attention to the circumstance that in one point, and possibly in two, Jerome seems to have had before him either the book from which the extract is taken, or the source from which the author of the fragment drew his information. This is especially suggested by the curious likeness between the account in the fragment of the origin of St. John's Gospel, and that given of it in one place by Jerome—of the request made to St. John by the disciples and bishops, of the previous joint fast, and of the revelation following. Jerome's expression is, that "ecclesiastical history tells" this; but it is found in no extant work except this fragment. Dr. Tregelles hardly estimates too highly the importance of the fragment as a piece of evidence. It unites and co-ordinates the various threads of proofs dispersed in the writings of contemporary writers, who witness abundantly to single and separate books, but whose witness to a list or canon is first brought to a point in this strangely and fortuitously preserved scrap of antiquity. It is to be observed that it is not only a list; and also, that it bears indications of the tentative process by which the canon was formed. It contains various notices on the different books, such as that of the origin of St. John's Gospel. It recognises thus early the distinctions of character between the Gospels, while it lays stress on their fundamental agreement in facts:—"licet varia singulis evangeliorum libris principia doceantur, nihil tamen differt credentium fidei, cum uno et principali spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia," about the main points of our Lord's history. It contains, perhaps, as Dr. Tregelles remarks, the earliest historical notice of St. Peter's martyrdom. The fragment gives St. Paul's Epistles in an order peculiar to itself; and dwells on the analogy between the Seven Churches to which he writes and the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse. The enumeration, from whatever cause (for the fragment may have gaps), omits four of the books of the present canon—the Epistle to the Hebrews, those of St. Peter, and that of St. James; and it gives a warning, in the case of some instances of spurious books, against mixing up "gall with honey." It contains an interesting notice of the "Shepherd" of Hermas, then recently written, and publicly read, but not allowed to claim apostolic or prophetic authority. The "Shepherd" is, as Dr. Tregelles observes, an odd instance, not only of variety of judgment, but of variation within wide limits, on the part of the same judge. In a letter of 1851 Bunsen spoke of it as "that good but dull novel which Niebuhr used to say that he pitied the Athenian Christians for being obliged to hear in their meetings." In reprinting this letter in 1859, the phrase was changed into "that good, but not very attractive, novel." In a dissertation printed in the very same volume (*Hippolytus and his Age*) he talks of it as "one of those books which, like the *Divina Commedia* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, captivate the mind by the united power of thought and fiction, both drawn from the genuine depths of the human soul." It is not easy to imagine a more grotesque contrast of criticism in the same person.

It is possible, as Dr. Tregelles hopes, that the Greek original of the Muratorian fragment may yet turn up, as the Greek of Hermas has been recovered. As we have it, the fragment is one of the most signal instances of the truth that the value of things as evidence is often ludicrously in inverse proportion to the value of the things in themselves. It is a curious instance of the seeming accidents of literature and of the capricious fate attending the evidence of the greatest things, that one of the most important documents connected with the literary history of the New Testament should be an ill-written and bungling extract from a clumsy translation, turning up in the aimless collections of an ignorant commonplace-book-maker of the eighteenth century.

HOOK'S LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY. LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.*

DR. HOOK'S Life of Archbishop Warham is a good example of the way in which he looks at the all-important time with which he now has to deal. In discussing the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, he has to contend, openly or implicitly, with popular misconceptions at every step. This he does so vigorously and effectually that we are not inclined to enlarge on one or two trifling drawbacks. A slight tendency to preaching, which we might complain of in another man, is really not ungraceful in one of Dr. Hook's age, calling, and experience; and a slight tendency to repetition almost becomes a merit, when we remember how large a part of his readers doubtless need to have the simplest aspect of the case dinned into their ears again and again. Dr. Hook is, both theologically and historically, the unflinching enemy of a great number of popular confusions. He has to fight against the notion of "the Reformation" being a

single event, when one Church was overthrown and another Church was set up in its place. He has therefore to fight against the consequent misconception that there were then in England two great exhaustive parties, Papist and Protestant, clearly and definitely distinguished, and that every man must have belonged to one or the other. It is a very difficult matter to make people understand the plain facts that there was no substitution of one society for another, no transfer of property from one society to another, but that in the existing Church of England, the Church alike of Augustine, Anselm, Cranmer, Pole, Parker, and Longley, certain changes were made by the competent authorities, ecclesiastical and temporal, of this Realm of England. Changes were made then, as changes had been made before and have been made since, though doubtless there has been no other time before or since when so many important changes were made within the same number of years. And it must not be forgotten that, till the close of the Council of Trent, it could not be looked on as absolutely certain that all hopes of reconciliation between the divided portions of Western Christendom were vain. All parties agreed that some reform was needed; the question was as to the nature and extent of that reform. Trent, while largely reforming discipline, definitively fixed the modern Roman Catholic creed. Till then the schism was not complete. Dr. Hook would doubtless put all this into a theological form; we look at the matter historically. The historical continuity of the English Church through the series of events which we call the Reformation is as manifest an historical fact, though seemingly as hard to be understood, as the historical continuity of the English nation through the series of events which we call the Norman Conquest. History knows of no broad distinction between the time before and the time after any particular year, such as popular confusion draws in both cases. When Dr. Hook implies that the foreign Reformers founded sects and not churches, we decline to follow him into a purely theological question. But when he asserts the uninterrupted continuity of the society presided over in succession by Warham, Cranmer, Pole, and Parker, he is asserting a fact which no historian and no lawyer can venture to deny. As Dr. Hook says, there is no more speaking witness of all this than the *congé d'être* in which Elizabeth recommends Matthew Parker to be elected to the see of Canterbury left void and desolate by the death of Reginald Pole.

Again, there were always two parties, perhaps more, as there always must be in days of change. At any given moment of what we call the Reformation period, there were men in England who thought that change had gone too far, and there were men who thought that change had not gone far enough. Perhaps at any given moment those who thought that change had gone just as far as it ought to go and no further would be a smaller body than either of the other two. But these parties were simply like political parties now. Men of like views commonly voted and acted together; some went on faster, some slower; sometimes men changed sides; but changing sides was simply like changing sides about the Corn Laws or the Reform Bill; it was not like a conversion nowadays from Popery to Protestantism, or *vice versa*. It gives a false view to say that, in the reign of Henry or Edward, Gardiner was a Papist and Cranmer a Protestant. No such broad distinctions existed. Religion then was simply a matter of law. A few zealots on either side accepted or challenged martyrdom; but the mass of Englishmen obeyed, and, if in authority, administered, whatever was law for the time being, though they might in their own minds wish the law to be different, and might even use all allowable means to get it changed. That is, men then acted in religious matters as we now act in political matters. The English Prayer Book was simply like our last Reform Bill. Some might hold that it departed too far, others that it did not depart far enough, from the older form of worship. But the law ordained it, and the nation obeyed the law.

With this way of looking at things, Dr. Hook, boldly and rightly, challenges William Warham as a Reformer. Nobody supposes that he was a doctrinal Protestant; so neither was his successor, for years at least after he became Archbishop. Nor was Warham a very ardent or zealous or thoroughgoing Reformer in any way. One of the school to which he belonged, one of the last of the old statesman-Prelates, a man who rose to eminence under the cold and cautious Henry the Seventh, a man whom that prudent sovereign deemed fit at once for a Lord Chancellor and an Archbishop, was not likely to be foremost in innovation. But Warham was a Reformer nevertheless. Mr. Froude despises and mocks at him, simply from not understanding his position. Of course from a grand ideal standard he was a very poor creature. Dr. Hook, looking at him by the light of facts and of everyday common sense, judges more favourably of him. Not a genius, not a man to carry out great changes by his own energy, somewhat indolent perhaps and shrinking from exertion, but still a man of honesty, ability, and discretion, a man standing rather high among the second class of men, William Warham, the old friend of Henry the Seventh, was distinctly a man of "the new learning." The theological controversy had not come to its fulness in his time. He had been Archbishop fourteen years before Luther was heard of, and when he died, Cranmer and Latimer were at least as ready as Warham himself to burn those doctrines they were afterwards burned for adopting. But Warham was a Reformer, at least if Erasmus was a Reformer. He was the friend, admirer, and patron of the great scholar, and he was also more distinctly a Reformer within his own immediate sphere. He was not an innovator by temper; but he saw the gross abuses of the ecclesiastical courts,

* *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S. Vol. VI. London: Richard Bentley. 1868.

and he did what he could to correct them. In Dr. Hook's view, finding himself unsuited for the task of reformation, he willingly submitted to sink from the first place in the English Church to the second, and accepted an ecclesiastical dictatorship in the person of the great Cardinal. But Warham meanwhile did good service in a quiet way. As Chancellor of Oxford, he promoted the new studies there in various ways; he was the liberal patron of their votaries; he showed his leanings by choosing Dean Colet as a preacher on a great public occasion, and by supporting him against his own Bishop Fitzjames. A man who did all this was surely not altogether contemptible, even though he was taken in in his old age by the miracles and prophecies of the Holy Maid of Kent. He belonged, it may be, to a type of men who were no longer suited to the times in which his last days were cast. But he was an honourable specimen of a class which had done good service in its own time. If not an advanced reformer, he still was a reformer according to his light, nor was he at all an eager persecutor of those who would fain have carried change into quarters where it was still forbidden. All men cannot be heroes or geniuses, and men of the second order, like Warham, hold a very useful place in the economy of things. The reputation of a good and able man is not to be sported away, either out of sheer caprice or to prop up an irrelevant theory. Dr. Hook has done good service by putting him in his proper light.

In the Life of Warham an important and prominent place is naturally filled by the renowned Cardinal, the Legate à latere, before whom the *Legatus natus* of England was content to sink into a subordinate place. The sort of position which Wolsey fills in Dr. Hook's narrative is a good illustration of those results of Dr. Hook's plan which we spoke of in our former article. His Life of Warham comes so near to being an ecclesiastical history of the early years of Henry the Eighth that we sometimes forget that it is only a Life of Warham. In a history of the times Wolsey would of course hold the first place. But in a Life of Warham, the amount of prominence given to the great man is made to depend on the degree of connexion which he had at any time with the smaller man. Wolsey's appointment as Cardinal and Legate is discussed at length; for that appointment seriously affected the position of Warham both at the time and afterwards. The grand ceremony of Wolsey's investiture with the Cardinal's hat—which, as a striking scene in the history of Westminster Abbey, is characteristically left out by Dean Stanley in his late "Memorials"—is described at length by Dr. Hook. For in that ceremony Warham took the leading place. While reading this part of the story, we fancy that we are reading a general history of the time. We are therefore surprised when we find the fall of the great Cardinal spoken of only in an incidental way. When Parliament met at such a time, November 3rd, 1529, "Wolsey was already in disgrace." The fall of Wolsey affected Warham only indirectly. His old office of Chancellor was again offered to him and declined. But in the events which followed, and were consequent upon, the Cardinal's disgrace Warham played an important part; so these are again given in detail. Now it was that Henry was guilty of that most shabby piece of tyranny, his proceeding against the whole clergy as liable to a *premunire* for recognising Wolsey in the character of Legate. No doubt the letter of the law justified the proceeding, but there is a far higher principle of law which lays down that no man may take advantage of his own wrong. Now surely never did any man more shamelessly take advantage of his own wrong than Henry did in this matter. He it was who caused the original breach of the law; he it was who well-nigh constrained the Pope to appoint Wolsey Cardinal and Legate, and who thrust aside the murmurs of the English clergy against the appointment. Then, when it suited his purpose, he turned round and treated the whole body as criminals for doing what he himself had forced them to do, and extorted submissions and subsidies as the price of their pardon for a crime which was in every sense his own and theirs. According to all ordinary rules either of morality or of common gentlemanly feeling, the conduct of Henry was in this matter that of a low-minded scoundrel. But then Henry was a reforming King, and his victims were mere anti-reforming priests. In the eyes of those who prefer party and paradox to truth and justice, the rules of morality do not apply to such a case. If a Pope or a Bishop had treated laymen in such a way, the scandal would of course have been beyond the power of words to express. But priests are fair game for any man; any trick is lawful against them; the panegyrist of Henry seems uncertain whether seriously to admire the proceeding as a master-stroke of policy or simply to enjoy it as a piece of fun. Not so Dr. Hook; in his eyes a crime is a crime, whoever does it and whoever suffers by it. He can do justice to whatever points in the actions or character of Henry admit of a favourable estimate. But he is so far behind the newest lights as to see no fun in simple dirty rascality. And he does not look on the aged Primate who contrived to do his duty in person through all the debates of that stormy Convocation, and that without forfeiting the respect of either side, as deserving of nothing but contemptuous pity. There are historians more capable than Dr. Hook of dressing up a pretty picture, of trotting out a novelty in a taking shape. But we believe that there is none who has written history or biography with a more single eye to the main object of historical and biographical writing, the setting forth of truth.

We reserve for a future occasion an examination of perhaps the most difficult part of Dr. Hook's whole task—his way of dealing with the official and personal character of Cranmer.

MABEL'S PROGRESS.*

WE have often thought that in these days, when so much is said about technical education, it would be as well to start a school for novelists. Novel-writing has indeed a higher place among arts than designing patterns for manufacturers or working in gold and silver; yet it is essentially of the same species, and is being rapidly reduced to as regular a trade. At any rate the greater novelists might take apprentices. An advertisement appeared the other day from the editor and proprietor of a daily newspaper, who proposed to bring a young gentleman up to "all the branches of newspaper work," including the composition of leading articles. Surely a systematic training might be of equal service to the ambitious aspirant in the path of fiction. Already, we might say, if we would imitate the lamentations which have lately become so common, there are not wanting indications that the novel-writing industry of Great Britain is on the decline. Our authors are by no means less distinguished for native talent than their rivals across the Channel. On the contrary, they have, as a rule, a quicker sense of humour, a keener susceptibility to varying shades of character, and, it may perhaps be added, a healthier moral tone. The one thing wanting is a thoroughly systematic training. At a school such as we have ventured to suggest, or under the tuition of an experienced artist, they might be taught to put together a plot with some approach to coherence and distinctness. Models might be set before them, that they might study the difficult art of sketching from the life. At other times they might be familiarized with the conventional characters which have become part of the stock-in-trade of British fiction; and at intervals they might make excursions in different parts of the country, or be placed in disguise in various social meetings, so as to have a command of proper scenery in which to set their imaginary characters to work out their plots. It is needless to add that, in view of the immense competition which exists amongst novelists, the proposed school might by good management be made a commercial success. As it is, we must endeavour to discharge some of the duties which would perhaps be more effectually discharged by a professional teacher; and when we see a promising pupil, we are glad to give the aspirant such encouragement, mixed, of course, with a due seasoning of criticism, as seems to be really deserved.

The author of *Mabel's Progress* appears to us to be just one of those persons who might be materially improved by a little judicious training. At present, she has many faults which detract from the value of the talent which she frequently exhibits. She has a good eye for character, and can occasionally produce some really effective scenes; but for want of the proper technical skill, her good points are obscured by a great deal of matter of inferior merit. Thus she has a very good "motive" for the story of *Mabel's Progress*. The central idea of the book affords sufficient opportunity for her talent, and she appears to have the power requisite to give it due effect. Unfortunately, the faults which we are about to mention prevent the novel, though really good in parts, from producing the result at which she aims. The story, reduced to the simplest possible elements, may be told in a few words. A steady respectable young British merchant of the old-fashioned school falls in love with a young lady, beneath him in wealth and social position, who has certain theatrical connexions. The family of the young merchant are disgusted at the connexion which they see to be probable, and succeed in rousing the proper pride of the lady. By way of showing her independence, and proving that she is not seeking a good match, she takes herself off to her theatrical friends. In due time she goes upon the stage, and after hard work at her profession, gains a great success. The lover meanwhile is ruined by the fault of his father, and becomes a clerk in a London house. He struggles to support his family in spite of the ill conduct of a brother and the spiteful behaviour of the villain who owes him a grudge. Ultimately, after a long separation, the successful actress and her energetic but ruined lover are again brought together; and this time their misunderstanding is explained, they get over their mistaken pride, marry, and live very happily ever afterwards. The story is a very simple one, and from the first indication of its nature we have a pretty good guess how it will end. The practised novelist would be content to bring out sufficiently the characters of the lady and her lover, and would be specially careful to keep secondary incidents and personages in due subordination. We require just enough difficulties to enable us to sympathize with the struggle made by the principal actors to overcome them, and to appreciate the qualities which they display under their trials. So long as that object is effected, the story, which is of necessity not very exciting, should be told as simply and straightforwardly as possible. Here, however, the author has rather broken down, and has distracted our attention by a good deal of irrelevant matter, and by a certain clumsiness in telling the story.

Thus, after the first volume, the lovers are separated, and there are two almost independent stories to be related. Each of them might be distinctly told without the slightest reference to the other. The author is evidently nervous under this apparent inconvenience. We have a series of chapters put together after the fashion of a sandwich. One chapter takes us to a provincial theatre in Ireland, to follow the fortunes of the lady; the next brings us back to the manufacturing town in England, to see how the lover is getting on; at the third we return to the lady, and

* *Mabel's Progress*. By the Author of "Aunt Margaret's Trouble." 3 vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1868.

the fourth skips back again to the gentleman. And thus we continue like a boy taking alternate bites at an apple and an orange, because he can't make up his mind which he likes best. It would, indeed, be possible, by a little trouble, if novels were ever read at the expense of any trouble, to follow the two stories separately; first, to read all the even chapters, and then to read all the odd ones. There is, however, the disadvantage that faint efforts are occasionally made to connect the two, and we never feel certain at what point the two streams of narrative will coincide, or how long they will continue flowing side by side after the well-known fashion of the Rhone and the Arve. This incessant dislocation of the narrative which brings us up with a jerk just as we are getting interested in either set of characters is rather annoying; but there is another fault still more deeply affecting the narrative. The author seems to be constantly afraid of allowing our minds to dwell too long upon any given situation. Not only are we kept skipping in this lively fashion from one set of characters to another, but she is always introducing fresh characters to give us a little extra amusement. The number of persons who have to be provided for when the story comes to an end is something positively alarming; and yet there are a number who have dropped out of the story in its course, without any particular excuse for having ever entered it. People with remarkable oddities are introduced with as much ceremony as if they were really to have an important influence on the action of the story, and then drop out without producing any effect whatever. There is a quantity of ridicule, not very happy nor very novel in itself, bestowed upon certain evangelical young ladies with a turn for distributing tracts. The author seems to have a special dislike for this species of female pest, and we have no particular desire to rescue them from the intended satire. If any novelist chooses to ridicule the tract-distributing tribe, the ridicule may be perfectly legitimate, and we shall only ask whether it is intrinsically feeble, or the reverse. But the wretched Miss Flukes who are brought in to be belaboured for their pharisaical and intrusive properties are always distracting the author from the principal characters in the story. It seems as if they were real persons, and that their very entrance or the sound of their voices in the distance immediately provoked the combative propensities of the author; she rushes out, as it were, and insists upon giving them a bit of her mind, whilst her hero and heroine are waiting for their proper share of attention. There are several other entirely superfluous personages, some of whom have not even the excuse of being amusing in themselves, to say nothing of their usurping an undue space in the canvass. And the result of the whole is that there is a kind of spotty and distracted effect about the story; as though, in a play, the mere walking gentlemen, or the first and second murderers, were allowed to take up as much of our attention as the leading characters in the piece. Instead of the innocent piece of advice to a young author to cut out everything which he thinks looks particularly fine, we should recommend the writer of *Mabel's Progress* to have a massacre amongst her secondary characters; or, if she does not feel equal to carry out the pruning process with sufficient energy, at least to tone down the parts of her narrative in which these intrusive people put themselves forward to the detriment of their betters. As it is, the narrative is so crowded that, whilst many of the sketches suggest a power of doing something better, none of them has sufficient room for development. They suffer like trees in a wood planted too closely to admit of free growth.

We need not insist upon some other faults from which few feminine writers are free. The men are of course inferior to the women, and the villain is a very poor villain, in spite of his black eyes, which resemble a snake's in fascinating power. He invents perhaps the poorest plot of which we remember to have read in the diabolical machinations of fictitious monsters. His only notion of injuring the virtuous hero is to write anonymous letters in which nobody believes for a moment, and to which there is no ground to attribute the slightest plausibility. But, after making every deduction, there is sufficient evidence of talent to make us hope for something better from the author when she has a little more training in her art. It is at least promising that the chief fault which we have found is that of over-luxuriance, and a desire to crowd her story with more detail than it will fairly bear. There is so much real spirit in her descriptions that, with more forethought and attention to the general effect, she might produce a very good story. The defects we have noticed result, we may hope, from an exaggerated fear of being dull. When she comes to rely more confidently upon her own power, she will throw her strength into an effective rendering of the main structure of the story, instead of distracting us by a restless endeavour to give unnecessary brilliance to the subsidiary branches. Even as it is, the novel rises distinctly above the ordinary level, and the careful study of a few good models—especially, we might suggest, of the admirable construction of many French novels—would probably enable the artist to use her powers to more advantage.

LIFE IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.*

VAGUELY describing it as "Studies of a Wandering Observer," Dr. Ireland has written a pleasant volume of sketches of life in the South of France, with a few notes upon village life on the

right bank of the Rhine, a winter at Wiesbaden, and a visit to Weimar. But Dr. Ireland has been also in India, and claims from his two years' residence among the Zemindars of the Himalayas, as well as from his six months among German villagers, a special preparation for the study of the rural life of Southern France. Upon his second page he enters the Valley of Valcroissant in the Diois, department of the Drôme, with a retrospect that forms into one group precipices of the Himalayas, Rathen in Saxon Switzerland, the "thirsty scoræ" of Aden, and the green mountains of Glencoe. Apparently regarding himself as a new birth for us of that Ulysses who, as Pope has it,

Wand'ring from clime to clime,
Observant stray'd,

Dr. Ireland announces on his title-page that he also is a Wandering Observer. His book consists of detached chapters, varying in the degree of their solidity, perhaps according to the character of the magazines for which some of them were originally written. But these chapters are arranged with an epic propriety; for, as *Aeneas* makes his first appearance within sight of Italy, his previous history being told us afterwards by way of episode, and as Milton begins *Paradise Lost* with the plotting of the Fall of Man, and introduces afterwards what happened before the Creation, so Dr. William Ireland has begun his little *Odyssey* by lodging himself in the Valley of Valcroissant, and giving us a picture of life as it now is in a rural district of the South of France; but afterwards, in incidental chapters, he goes back to Leda's Egg. If the form of the book were chronological instead of epic, it would, indeed, make but a dull beginning with the primordial subject of Petrarch and Laura, which is none the livelier for Dr. Ireland's taking the old sentimental view of it. There is more interest in his accounts of Farel the preacher, and Montbrun the soldier, of the Reformation in the Dauphiné. He quotes the saying of Niebuhr, "I could live among a peasantry who had a history"; and the lives of Farel and Montbrun do belong to the history of the men of the Diois among whom Dr. Ireland lived, and his account of whom is, in this respect as in all others, complete and clear. National characters change less than they seem to change with the course of history and the arising of new social problems out of the solution of those which had occupied the energies of men in a preceding time. In the great conflict of ideas which ennobled history during the second half of the sixteenth century, the south of France rebelled more strongly than the north against the despotism of scholastic theology. Municipal life was then more vigorous in the south than in the north; there was less of feudalism, and, in the Estates of Languedoc, Provence, and Guienne, there was an independence of political action unknown north of the Loire. Time has, no doubt, changed the relation to each other of several parts of France, and much of the true life of the nation is just now hid in the fog of political despotism. But time has developed also into new forms the ideas about which men contend, and if Dr. Ireland's studies of life in the South of France are to be trusted, as we think they are, the very facts which seem to him discouraging may show that the old mind is in the people yet.

As to the past in and about the valley he describes, it was but two miles from Die, at a place where the Valcroissant, or stream of the Crescent Valley, flows into the Drôme, that Montbrun routed the Catholics under Gordes, Lieutenant-General of Dauphiné, and compelled some hundreds of Swiss to capitulate. A month later, it was near the western end of the Diois that Montbrun's own troops were routed, and he, with a broken thigh, was brought within reach of the executioner. At Die the Protestants had a college for the education of their pastors, but by the Dragonnades and by the suppression of this college at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the place lost half its population. It now has four thousand inhabitants, surrounded by an old wall within which the shrivelled town lies, like a dry nut in the shell it has once filled. A third part of the population is still Protestant; but the hatreds of the days of massacre have died away. Families of the two faiths intermarry and are friendly neighbours, men of each creed being, says Dr. Ireland, equally industrious, "the Protestants as good as the Catholics, and the Catholics no worse than the Protestants." Indeed, of France generally he tells us that the controversy between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism excites no interest. "Few of the men go to church and fewer still to confession. I have heard," he says, "a rigid Catholic estimate that even in the South one-half of all the educated men were unbelievers—some carry the calculation as high as three-fourths—and doubts about the Divine origin of Christianity are widely spread amongst the lower classes." But how easy is it for a "rigid Catholic" to see unbelief in a full acceptance of the principle of free inquiry. In another part of his book Dr. Ireland writes that among the Protestants a Unitarian and a Calvinist pastor are frequently in joint charge, "and the congregation listens to their discourses with equal attention, while a part of them resort in the evening to the meeting-house of a Wesleyan missionary." An Assembly of Pastors, held at Nismes in 1864, declared by a large majority that a fixed creed was irreconcilable with Protestantism; and M. Athanase Coquerel, expelled from his office of pastor by the Protestants of Paris on account of his opinions, was "received as a martyr by many congregations in the South." Dr. Ireland finds among these French Protestants the enervating influence of an Established Church in the fact that, although the Government salary of one of their pastors is seldom more than seventy-two pounds a year, the rich members of the congregations never add to it out of their own

* *Studies of a Wandering Observer*. By William W. Ireland, M.D., Author of the "History of the Siege of Delhi," and of "Randolph Methy, a Story of Anglo-Indian Life." London: Chapman & Hall.

resources. But is there not a sign of strength in the statement that the pastors are men equal in education and ability to the better paid ministers of the Church of Scotland, and that such men readily accept the office, although they could, by successful competition, get more income as officials in the public service? This does not look like enervation. There is evidence of quiet growth, too, in the fact that neither in the South of France nor in the North "do we find the same gay, thoughtless, fiddling, dancing, merry-making people as portrayed by Goldsmith and Sterne. In truth," says Dr. Ireland, "there is more dance and song in a German village than in half a dozen of Provence. The peasantry are graver, more provident, and more parsimonious than in the times of the Capets." In Valcroissant he saw these provident peasantry taking a mule every day with two panniers to the top of Glandaz, to gather the manure of the sheep feeding six thousand feet above the valley.

The peasant proprietor of the Drôme, who eats pork in the block twice a day, and also flavours his soup with it, is busy at all seasons. He cuts fagots to sell for firewood at the nearest town; makes manure of the boxwood bushes; keeps bees; has a vineyard on the hill-side, and a little meadow, and a little corn-field; and great care over his silkworms. Mulberry-trees abound, and whoever has a mulberry-tree buys eggs, and begins breeding silkworms. When there was no mysterious disease among the worms, four ounces of eggs at about sixteen shillings an ounce might be expected to yield silk worth from thirty-two to forty-eight pounds sterling. Now in some places the men cut down their mulberry-trees in disgust, and say, "What is the use of trees which make us drink water instead of wine?" In July the corn crops are ripe. In August hay is made, and the flax pulled and steeped. In September they have grapes to gather, wine to make; and then the autumn winds scatter ripe walnuts in thousands over the fields. The small holdings are so numerous that they make work in every village for a notary of its own, who executes transfers, maintains boundary rights, is a general referee, and sometimes fills the office of mayor. The *métayers* about him marry cautiously. There are seldom more than two children in a family, and each is careful to add, by marriage, the inherited half share to a portion of the same extent. Thus they save money. A frugal family in fifteen or twenty years, "generally," says Dr. Ireland, "manages to put by six hundred pounds." As much as possible these people live upon the produce of their land, and keep in their own hands what hard money they earn.

To his account of the peasant proprietors of the Drôme Dr. Ireland adds some readable and trustworthy notes upon town life in the South of France, drawing his experience chiefly from Avignon. He describes very well the system of education and the present aspect of commerce. Wages have risen more than one-third since 1824, while the price of bread is much the same. Drunkenness is almost unknown in the South of France; but libertinage takes its place, and the character of the town population is, in Dr. Ireland's opinion, below that of the town population of the North of France, Germany, or England. The country population of the South he finds more honest and true-hearted, more constant and less vain; the worst qualities of the French being brought out by city life. "In the country avarice is stronger than vanity, in the towns vanity is stronger than avarice." In this sentence, as throughout the book, there is indication of a want of cordiality in the appreciation of French character. Actual contact with the people, whether at Valcroissant or elsewhere, produces personal respect, but the nobler part of the French national character is less observed than the defects apparent on the surface.

Dr. Ireland has a compact style which is usually graphic when he tells what he has seen, and which secures attention when, as often happens, he repeats what he has read. He has a pleasant, lightly written chapter upon Clement Fanot, the bell-ringer of St. Didier, at Avignon, whose enthusiasm for the multiplication of his bells and incessant ringing of them is said to have suggested some touches of the character of Victor Hugo's Quasimodo. A short chapter on Arcachon is almost limited to the setting forth of ideas which he has himself strongly maintained as a physician, touching the benefits to be derived from the emanations of pine-trees, because they abound in ozone. The winter town at Arcachon consists of about forty villas planted among pines; and at Sallières, near Die, is one of about twenty establishments for resinous baths, now scattered about the South of France. The patient at Sallières sits in a porous wool-dress on a bench in a kind of baking-oven, over a slow fire. The floor of the oven is covered with layers of pine-wood exuding honey-coloured resin, and the heat so regulated that it shall not char the lower layers of the wood. The batches of patients who pass through these ovens are those who would rather be slack baked than bear the pains of bronchitis, rheumatism, sciatica.

CHINA AND EUROPE.*

RECENT years have seen such an extension of research among the antiquaries as well as the modern life of the Chinese Empire, that the European reader can better afford to be told, than would have been the case with him a generation back, that China, when compared with Europe, is not barbarous, stationary, or isolated. Yet most of us are still accustomed to consider the civilization of the Chinese incommensurate with ours, their

jealousy of receiving any lessons from us absurd, and their progress as intrinsically finite, after all is said, as the familiar fractional series which, if added up to eternity, can never reach the limit of a whole number. The author of *La Chine et l'Europe* is not content with the obvious retort that from the distance and the point of view of a cultivated Chinese our own history might very well appear stationary, if not barbarous. He undertakes to prove that the course of Chinese and of European historical development has been, not only strictly analogous in character, but identical in time; that the alleged isolation or independence of East and West has been apparent only, and not real; that a certain natural law prevents the possibility of any such independence, and determines the simultaneous identity of history at the opposite ends of the earth, with the stern impartiality of hydraulic pressure. From the basis of a few axioms as simple and ingenious as those which lay the foundation of Buckle's *History of Civilization* or Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection, we are unconsciously led by Mr. Ferrari up to the grand truth that everything does and must happen in the same way everywhere; and that, if on any rare occasion appearances are against this conclusion, it does not very much matter. Facts are commonly said to be stubborn things; but it is at least as true to say that, to the well-drilled and active intellect persuaded of its own theory, facts are the most docile and plastic of creatures. Nothing is easier than to explain away the apparent stubbornness of a recalcitrant fact, by referring to some collateral fact which either hastens or retards or nullifies the operation of the general law, or even makes it act for once in an inverted sense. All evidence is equally strong to prove a foregone conclusion.

Mr. Ferrari does not produce his theory of the science of history now for the first time. In his *Histoire des Révolutions d'Italie* he demonstrated the accurate parallelism with which, in every successive period or epoch, the several Italian Republics, the Kingdom of Naples, the States of the Church, and through their relation to the Church the various realms of Europe, marched, and were forced to march, side by side under the pressure of his favourite law. In his *Histoire de la Raison d'État* he generalized that law, which he had learned empirically by the study of the Italian chronicles; and the present volume is busied with confirmatory proof of that law on the largest possible scale, by the comparison of the events, dates, and tendencies of Chinese history, with their parallels in the story of the rest of the world:—

Puisque toutes les histoires se ressemblent, l'histoire la plus ancienne, la plus continue, la plus explicite, servira de guide, et en voyant toutes ses révolutions reproduites en Europe l'une après l'autre, on comprendra comment le jour même où Salomon disait mélancoliquement : "Il n'y a rien de nouveau sous le soleil," on lisait sur la statue mystérieuse du temple de Lo-yang : "Le ciel n'a point de parenté : il traite également tous les hommes."

It is almost needless to say that Mr. Ferrari is of a school which holds that history has no moral. Those who persist in drawing a moral are in his eyes the mere corrupters of history, which ought to be written after the manner of Linneus and Buffon, "qui sont historiens, mieux encore qu'Herodote et Tite-Live." Fact is all that has to be dealt with; and the determining law of fact, in his scheme of the world's history, depends, and has always depended, upon the existence of war. War is the great motive agent that plays the part, in the human world, of the fierce struggle for life by which the natural selection and development of the animal creation are governed under Darwin's theory. Under the benign necessities of war, every nation must keep on the same moral and material level of force with the neighbour with which it is contending, or it is conquered, and ceases to exist as a nation in history. "L'unique pression de la guerre les condamne à se tenir de niveau pour rester indépendants." Therefore all the nations which continue to exist and to defy extirpation are necessarily on the same level. But they can only keep on the same level by constantly balancing each other's increments of strength, either through their likes or their opposites. They are thus obliged "de s'imiter, de se copier, de se voler les idées, les découvertes, les inventions, les religions"; or sometimes to take up with the exact negative of that which characterises their antagonistic neighbours. "La guerre force tous les peuples à ne pas s'attarder d'un jour, et celui qui reste en arrière . . . disparaît à jamais." Hence at any given moment the civilization of nation A is approximately equivalent to that of its neighbour B, or it would be knocked out of the alphabet; and so on through C and D to the Z of the national catalogue of the time. And this equivalence in civilization is and must be the result of going through the same or parallel phases of historical, religious, scientific life. Therefore the history of all nations, locked in the balance of a constant mutual struggle, is, and always has been, and always will be, the same. Q.E.D.

If, in tracing the parallels of history, Mr. Ferrari were content to point out that the civilization of all peoples, whether under the conditions of war or the friendly competition of peace, turns necessarily more or less upon the same hinges everywhere, and that the general results of all national growth tend to the same point with fewer or more striking chance contrasts or chance resemblances, his instances would be so far relevant and cogent enough. But they need more faith than we can afford them if they are to be treated as proofs of a strict and indefeasible law. And it does not suffice Mr. Ferrari that the history of China should at every moment be identical with or equivalent to that of Europe; all history must run with

* *La Chine et l'Europe*. Par Joseph Ferrari, Membre du Parlement Italien. Paris : Didier et Cie.

measured pulses and set intervals, as laid down in his scheme. The fixed orbit in which the national intellect of his world rolls reminds us of nothing but a row of clocks of the same pattern, striking the quarters and the hours in unconscious concert under the influence of their several pendulums. Every moral, political, or social change worth noting in every country is performed in four times or bars. There is a bar or time of predisposition, during which the dissatisfaction with the old state of things and the force required to change it accumulate silently, or with occasional muttering; a bar of violent explosion, in which the force frequently overruns its mark; a third bar, or time of reaction; and a fourth bar of "solution," or national settlement and acquiescence in the new condition of things. And so *da capo* when a fresh change or progress is required. Again, we may allow this to be a natural and quasi-chemical sequence of operations, that often does occur in the laboratory of human history. But for Mr. Ferrari it is bound to be always occurring, and everywhere; and as every drama in China is divided into four acts of the same approximate length, so every historical action has its four phases, and of equal duration:—

La période de quatre temps est donc l'unité de mesure de toutes les histoires: partout où les hommes pensent, agissent, combattent, et triomphent, ils tombent fatalement dans une sorte de drame chinois qui permet de comparer les uns aux autres les peuples les plus lointains, les plus opposés. Peu importe que l'un proclame la monarchie et l'autre la république, l'un l'unité, l'autre la fédération: semblables à l'affirmation et à la négation, ces formes n'ont de sens que relativement à l'erreur mise en doute, combattue, discutée ou résolue, et l'incendie de Troie peut répondre à l'avènement d'une dynastie à Lo-Yang.

On fixera les années de la période en remarquant que chaque phase demande le travail d'une génération, à peu près trente ans.

Not only is every historical phase best connoted by the name of one man, who represents his generation—as Mahomet, David, or Caesar—but Mr. Ferrari finds his theory borne out by the actual length in years of the examples which he quotes from ancient and modern history. The great Persian war of Greece, the reaction of Sparta against the Athenian democracy, the Sacred War, every phase of revolution or of reaction in Italy during the middle ages, the decadence of Italy in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the completion of the conquest of America from the date of its first discovery, the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, the life of Christ himself, and the average life of the seven kings of Rome, keep time admirably with this clockwork scheme. By as neat an adjustment as is involved in the compensating balances of a chronometer, Mr. Ferrari discovers that practically the historic periods of four phases do tend slightly to overrun the length of 120 years, and in fact approach on an average to 125, which number involves the calculation of each average generation at 31 years 3 months:—

Cette augmentation se confirme par l'observation que tous les cinq cents ans, c'est-à-dire toutes les fois que quatre périodes s'épuisent, le monde subit une transformation sensible—

the instances of which we need not reproduce here. So adroit a theorist is not unapt to manipulate his facts and dates into a more exact correspondence with his whim than is to be found upon the parallel columns of ordinary *Fædi*. 510 B.C., for instance, is given as the explosive date when Confucius began to influence China; and this same year, with the most accommodating spirit of parallelism, includes in Greece the battles of Salamis, Plataea, and Marathon, and in Rome the birth of the Republic. The personal parallel of Confucius in Europe is Socrates, and he performs the same function in the same period; but then there are very good reasons, in the slight difference of philosophical history in East and West, to account for the appearance and exit of Socrates exactly seventy-five years, or two generations, later than the sage of China. If, again, the contemporary periods of the phases in different countries bear no kind of apparent resemblance to each other—why, then it is their very unlikeness which proves their relation. About 135 B.C. China for a period "tomba dans une sorte d'obésité," and did nothing at all. Rome, on the contrary, went through the same period in four well-marked phases of predisposition, explosion, reaction, and solution, with the Gracchi, the Social War, Sylla, and the establishment of the Empire. "Qu'on compte les années, et on verra des Gracques à Auguste cent dix-neuf ans en quatre temps et tous les caractères d'un drame mondial." The singular contrast "s'explique encore," and in its explanation knits the scheme of universal "correlation" still more firmly together. And so the whole world goes on, moving as it has moved from the beginning, in a fixed and barren circle like an endless sum of recurring decimals.

Apart from this craze, Mr. Ferrari's work is eloquent, and full of interesting detail. Besides exemplifying how history is to be written, he tells us how history is written in China. It is composed exclusively of the most thoroughly sifted facts, registered by the most incorruptible functionaries in a volume to be consigned to inviolable secrecy until the Imperial dynasty, of the acts and words of which it is a record, shall have come to a close. An Emperor of the Tang dynasty once attempted to see what this terrible historical Commission said of him; but its President pleaded the entire want of precedent, while he took act of the inquiry:—

Je ne sache pas, lui répondit le président, qu'aucun empereur ait jamais vu ce qu'on écrivait sur son compte. Et il lui annonça que même son désir inutile de connaître les feuilles accusatrices serait fidèlement enregistré.

The anecdote is not devoid of grandeur and solemnity; and we are willing to grant to Mr. Ferrari that history compiled in such a manner may be as true as European chronicles in general. But then, if the whole history of the world is what he takes it to be, it makes very little odds whether it is written truly or falsely, or indeed whether it is written at all.

WHOLESOME FARE.*

IT is strange that those who take in hand to treat of a science one of the triumphs of which is to concentrate a dozen fowls into an essence, or to make a leg of veal disappear in a glaze or in stock for a soup, cannot transfer this sort of achievement to their literary cuisine. They can cook up, compile, even plagiarize, but they despise, it would seem, the process of boiling down. A signal instance of the lack of this valuable literary gift is the almost entire absence of any such thing as a compact biography in the present day. Memoirs, lives, letters, take up three, six, nine volumes full of crude undigested matter, the essence of which might have been acceptably packed into an eighth part of the space. But in culinary treatises this error is least excusable, both because the subject itself suggests triumphs of the "multum in parvo" character, and because readers of such works may naturally object to their palates being cloyed with too much and too diffuse discussion of the food question. The book before us would have invoked the favour of critics with surer prospect of success, had it been half its present length; and the needless reductions might have been effected without omitting one point of importance, by the application of a culinary principle—by an attempt to give us essence, not a crude mass; neat, clear, direct statements, not the excursions of verbosity, foolish joking, second-hand facts and fictions, and equivocal English. "The Art of Dining," reprinted from the *Quarterly*, might have furnished a model of what a book on "Wholesome Fare" ought to be. The Doctor (by which title the male partner in the "Wholesome Fare" firm delights to designate himself) would have done himself and his book more justice, had he confined it to such dimensions as must have excluded silly stories about the bride's answer to her "Johnny" in reference to garlic with duck, and questionable citations of the cases of "Gorgias de Leontium," and "Isocrates who wrote his Panathenæi (!) at the age of ninety-four." He might have saved pages of irrelevancy, too, if he would have boiled down such sentences as the following, which meets us at the very outset of his volume. "The privation of seasonings has for its effect the prolonged retention in the stomach of many relaxing and emollient substances which have little power to solicit the action of that organ." Utterances as oracular and blundering might be heard nightly at the Adelphi Theatre from the mouth of the cellarman in *No Thoroughfare*; but we doubt whether any practice in periphrasis could have accomplished, in any age, a finer circumlocution for persons who have lost half their grinders than this which is enshrined in page 471:—"People half whose teeth have emigrated, while the other half are not in coincident positions." Such persons, we suspect, can hardly suffer more "in masticating truffles" than common-sense readers in swallowing such tall talk.

In truth, though we are far from hinting at a divorce between the authors of the book under review, it does not strike us that the union in it of the doctor and the cook has been blessed with the result of compatibility. Now and then the Doctor dilates on dressing eels and dishing turbots, on eating roast sucking-pig and hanging game, on undergirding boiled snipe-puddings with beef-steaks, oysters, and kidneys, and "sauteing rabbits' kidneys in champagne," with a gusto that proves him to know "what's what," and to be worthy to sit at meat with "Fin Bee" and his *alter idem*. But too often he is pulled up short in his part of gourmand by the consciousness of his graver profession, and at once sacrifices good living and plain writing to the exigent goddess of "shop." The accursed necessity of recommending the wholesomes is, all of a sudden, as Balaam's ass to him. After giving us a good and *con amore* recipe for a "gratin of lobster," he proceeds to dictate that "no one ought to sit down before it without care and without the power of abstaining." Here is another kindred veto! "Don't eat sliced cucumber with hot boiled salmon, but there is no harm in your having a plate of it handed round to be looked at, and to diffuse the smell." It seems that enjoyment is to consist in making-believe, just as the little "Marchioness" in Dickens's *Curiosity Shop* found her dry bread the better for rubbing it against the door of the room where the cheese was locked. For our part, we would rather know there was no cucumber than have it close to our nose and be sure all the while that it was not for our mouth. We suspect the Doctor would own to the same impeachment "off parade," although he fancies that his book and its title oblige him to tell his readers what to avoid, as well as what to eat and drink. The worst of all is that his participation, more or less, in authorship seems to have given him a craze about prescribing for literary men in a style which Dr. Johnson in his day, and the most sound-minded and sound-bodied writers in our own, would, we take it, resent and repudiate. It is not enough that he warns them against "fat and greasy things," and "viscous, pasty, and glutinous things," "meats" naturally and artificially "hard," "pork, sucking-pig, ducks, geese," &c.; not enough that he disallows a nap after dinner, unless "cravat, shirt-

* *Wholesome Fare; or, the Doctor and the Cook*. By Edmund S. and Ellen J. Delamere. London: Lockwood & Co. 1868

collar, and garters, if any," are previously unfastened. He has such concern for the stomachs of his literary brethren that he furnishes half a dozen pages of "dietary dinners of light solids for the special use of professional, literary, and scientific members of society." Of the lightness of these repasts we have our own opinion; of the effect of such thin diet on literary labour our individual fears; but we transcribe two of these dietary "cartes," more to exhibit the Doctor's crotchets about "liquids" than to cast scorn upon his solids, of which, with the help of bread and a *carte blanche* to clear the decks, we might possibly make a meal. Here is Carte 8:—

Julienne soup.
Cods' tongues. Egg sauce.
Broiled mutton-chop. Sautéd potatoes.
Snowy eggs.
*A glass of Marsala at the bottom of a tumbler,
filled up with ginger-beer.*

Now for Carte 14:—

Hustled cockles.
Boiled duck. Onion sauce.
Grilled mutton-kidney.
Slice of sponge-cake.
*Glass of champagne at the bottom of a tumbler,
to be filled up with water!*

It is but fair to add that he varies this un-inebriative glass with a pint of pale ale one day, a tumbler of cold punch and water another, and a tumbler of hot "whisky-toddy" on a third. But the limit he sets on liquor will be scouted by even modern men of literature. No poets thus warmed, or rather chilled, will have it in them to emulate Horace's "Quo me, Bacche, rapis, tui plenum," and literature must perforce become as thin and frothy as the food of those who purvey it. This is what comes of wedding medicine with cookery.

A wholesome reduction in the size of the book might well have been effected by omitting some twenty pages in the first chapter, confessedly made up from Jean Macé's *Histoire d'une Bouchée de Pain*, respecting the proportions of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, and azote; and a similar course might be advantageously applied to an elaborate history of "truffles," and to the disease in pigs which goes by the name of "Trichinosis." As this latter infection is probably not incidental to pig-meat unless when eaten raw, twenty pages of disquisition about it would be more reasonable in German than in English cookery-books. We recommend believing readers to skip pp. 398-412, unless they court a qualm whenever they eat pork, bacon, or ham, and unless they desire to forsake their Gentile liberty, and recur to Jewish prejudices. But it would be a very poor book which, after such omissions, did not leave a valuable residuum; and we are far from saying that "the doctor and the cook" have not given us some more substantial fare than the Cardinal's sauced rope instead of "lamprey" (p. 326), or the old shoe which was the foundation of another triumph of gastronomy. The chapter on broths and soups is full of useful hints, and is amusing without being absurd. It discusses the virtues of a true *pot-au-feu*, which is so good a thing, with its meats, poultry, vegetables, trimmings, &c., as to justify the editor's suspicion that to it is ascribable the origin of the French proverb "C'est la soupe qui fait le soldat." A rival claim to that honour might indeed be advanced by "Flint Broth," if always so successfully compounded as by the stray soldier commemorated in pp. 176-8. This worthy, with a piece of flint for a foundation, wheeled out of a French farmeress' lettuce, parsley, chives, carrots, cold potatoes, bacon, and cracked eggs, and then put his basis of flint back into his pocket in reserve for another similar "flint broth." Receipts for Scottish hotchpotch and cock-a-leekie are quoted from Meg Dodds, and due regard is paid to the essentials and conditions of good mock-turtle. On the subject of fish, too, the Doctor discourses like a man of sense—doubting reasonably whether cooked in court-bouillon it is as wholesome as when plain-boiled, and whether it improves fish to overpower its natural taste by saturating it with foreign flavours. The only justifiable occasion for "court-bouillon," which, according to Ude's recipe, has two bottles of red wine, beside vegetables, butter, and herbs, in its composition, is when one has to cook the inferior fresh-water fish; and, even in such a case, we are strongly of the Doctor's opinion that "good fish is too good for court-bouillon, while bad fish is not worth the cost of making it." The solution given in this volume to the knotty question which side of the turbot should be uppermost when sent to table is, it must be admitted, rather unsatisfactory. The editor, wishing to be impartial, takes a hint from Mr. Facing-both-ways, and, remarking that "the brown side contrasts well with the napkin," while the "white side is pleasing in its creamy purity," suggests the compromise that "at grand fish dinners, where turbot is served top and bottom, one should appear with the brown side and the other with the white uppermost." But what is to be done at humbler boards, what at houses of which the Doctor seems to have more experience than we can boast, where "if your leg of mutton is not quite done, you can apply a remedy even in the dining-room itself by giving a few slices a toss in a saucepan, in a little of their own gravy, over a clear fire"? The Udes, Gouffés, and Francatellis can settle the question for the grander Amphitryons. Who is to decide for smaller folks, upon such dubious utterances as our "Doctor's"?

In general, where he pronounces an opinion deliberately, it deserves weight. We are disposed to go with him in deprecating "lark-puddings," and the destruction of our native songsters to fill the bellies of gourmands. We also incline to the belief

that there is needless cruelty in crimping cod. One of the best anecdotes in the book is that of a codfish that answered to the name of Tom, which Mr. McDiarmid kept fifteen years in a pond of sea-water. It would come to its master when called, raise itself in the water, rest its head on the feeding-stone, and allow itself to be patted or stroked. Comparing this story with that of the "Dolphin and the Boy," which Oppian records, it is hard to suppose that fishes are insensible to pain or pleasure, or to deny them the speediest mode of being put out of their misery which the necessity of cooking them will allow. *Apocryphos* of anecdotes, we may refer our readers to a wonderful story of the voracity of a pike, avouched by the Doctor's own experience, in p. 223. It comes nearly up to the mark of the Kilkenny cat, and has the advantage of being better attested. On one or two minor points we venture to differ from the Doctor. He recognises in the wild peppermint of the marshes an equally aromatic substitute for mint sauce (p. 119). Our own experience tells us that it has the effect of spoiling the quarter of lamb irretrievably. We fancy, too, that the oyster-knife, and the skill to use it, are not such hopeless desiderata in country-houses as he supposes in p. 61, although we are at a loss to imagine how the utmost skill that may reside in the sacred person of "paterfamilias" could be made available for an emergency contemplated by the fertile brain of Dr. Delamere. "Oysters," he says, "should not be opened till the very last minute." "At that nick of time" the cook "has other things to attend to, and ought to have assistance to open the oysters, even if from the master of the house himself." Cooks are scarce enough as it is; they would be scarcer if the aid they had to expect in the kitchen was from the master in an apron. Nor can we wholly coincide with the Doctor's views as to a good salad, especially if he is in earnest in bidding us eat the nasturtium and borage blossoms with which he garnishes his green food.

Perhaps the most curious portion of his book is that devoted to Ash Wednesday and Good Friday *menus*—elaborate affairs involving "eels in jelly," cold eel pies, red gumards, vol-au-vents of oysters and other fish—the vol-au-vent crust to be sent in from the pastrycook on the Thursday before Good Friday. We should have thought that roast or boiled mutton was better to fast upon than baked cod or pike on the same day. But perhaps the Doctor's abstinence consists in denying himself and his patients their champagne and water, or Marsala and pop, during Lent. His section on beverages—dealing chiefly with the manufacture of toast and water, raspberry vinegar, apple drink, home-made seltzer water and "May drink"—renders this surmise the more plausible, and enables us to form a tolerable guess as to his Church views. The best that can be said of his *Wholesome Fire* is that in it "sunt bona, sunt quadam mediocritas," though it would be harshness to finish the quotation.

MASTER AND SERVANT.*

THE numerous complaints which were made against the Law of Master and Servant, as it stood before 1867, principally turned on the inequalities of treatment to which, as was alleged, the two classes were respectively subjected. In the first place, there was a difference in the process by which a defendant could be brought before the Court. If a servant sued his master, he could apply for a summons against him, but it was only in the case of non-appearance after summons that the magistrate could issue a warrant for a master's apprehension. If a master sued his servant, on the other hand, it was at the discretion of the magistrate in the first instance to issue either a summons or a warrant. Before 1848, indeed, the law was still harsher, since the magistrate had not even the option of taking the milder course. The master was served with a summons at the instance of the servant; the servant was arrested on a warrant issued on the complaint of the master. After the passing of "Jervis's Act" in 1848 it became by degrees the practice to confine the issue of warrants to cases where the defendant had absconded, or was thought likely to abscond. But the more stringent process was still permitted, and in Scotland it remained obligatory down to the passing of the Summary Procedure Act in 1864. It was in consequence, in great measure, of this distinction, that the law was so much more unpopular in Scotland than in England. The second ground of complaint was the difference of punishment. In the case of a master summoned by his servant for non-payment of wages, the magistrate might order payment, and, if the order was not obeyed, the amount might be levied by distress. But it was only where the latter remedy proved unavailing that the magistrate was empowered to resort to imprisonment. But in the case of a servant summoned by his master for breach of contract, the magistrate might, if he so pleased, pass sentence of imprisonment immediately. Thirdly, it was urged that, in a claim for wages, the master as well as the servant could be examined on oath; whereas, on a complaint for neglect of work, the servant was not a competent witness in his own cause. Thus the defendants in the two cases did not stand on a footing of equal advantage. Fourthly, the constitution of the Court which had jurisdiction over these offences was objected to, since, wherever there was no stipendiary magistrate, the trial of all disputes between masters and servants devolved on the justices of the peace, who are ordinarily masters themselves. And lastly, "a distinct ground of complaint was

* *The Master and Servant Act, 1867; with an Introduction, Notes and Forms, and Tables of Offences.* By James Edward Davis. London: Butterworths.

founded on the power given to one justice to deal with most cases of master and servant," coupled with the fact that the hearing often took place in the magistrate's private house—this latter practice being virtually a violation of the Act which makes Courts of Petty Sessions open to the public as matter of right.

To the first four of these objections there were certain defences set up. As regards the inequality of the process to compel appearance, it was said to be necessitated by the difference of the circumstances. There is no probability that a master will abscond to avoid payment of wages due to his servant, but it may very easily be the interest of a servant to abscond rather than stay to fulfil his contract, or possibly to undergo imprisonment. The infliction of imprisonment upon defendants of one class, and not upon those of the other, was justified on the plea that the sudden cessation of work on the part of a servant might inflict a public as well as a private wrong, extending even in some cases to injury of life and limb. The distinction between master and servant in respect of their competency to give evidence was explained by technical differences of procedure. Wages were recovered from a master by way of "order"; a contract was enforced against a servant by way of "conviction"; and, by the ordinary law of evidence, the defendant is a competent witness in proceedings of the former kind, but not in proceedings of the latter kind. The answer to the complaint against the constitution of the Court was that it was the only one available, since the County Courts do not sit sufficiently often for the purpose. The Select Committee of 1866 rightly made short work of some of these defences. If the severity of legal procedure is to be determined by the amount of temptation which an offence presents to this or that class of persons, a door is opened to all manner of legal inequalities. There can hardly be a grosser imputation upon a whole section of the population than to assume, as a basis of legislation, that they will evade justice if they can. The Committee accordingly recommended that masters and servants should be alike proceeded against by summons, and that the issue of a warrant should in both cases be delayed until the defendant had failed to appear. They suggested, further, that the punishment, whether of master or servant, should be in the form of a fine, and that imprisonment should be restricted to cases of non-payment of fines, or of such aggravated breaches of contract as cause injury to person or property. Another resolution declared that all cases between master and servant should be publicly tried before two or more justices, or a stipendiary magistrate. The question of competency to give evidence was not touched, as the Committee did not feel prepared to recommend a departure from the law of evidence as now settled. It does not seem to have occurred to them that the application of the law of evidence to the particular case was governed by a mere technicality, and that to make a breach of contract matter for an "order" in the case of a master, and for a "conviction" in the case of a servant, was in itself a highly invidious distinction.

The Master and Servant Act of 1867 was founded upon the Report of this Committee. It embodies the substance of all their recommendations, and goes beyond them in making "the respective parties to the contract of service" competent witnesses in every case. The alleged grievance arising from the judges being in most cases masters was not touched, and there is some fear that the workman will still view with suspicion the adverse decision of a magistrate who naturally looks at the case from an employer's standpoint. It would have been impossible, however, to meet this difficulty by any measure short of a universal abolition of the unpaid magistracy—a change, to say the least, too extensive to be introduced as an accidental consequence of a particular statute. With this exception, however, the law is well calculated to fulfil its object, and it is only to be regretted that so little pains should have been taken to make its provisions intelligible and complete. As it went up from the Commons the definitions of "employer," "employed," and "contract of service" were so entirely without restriction that "builders and contractors contracting with corporations and companies to any amount, and for every kind of undertaking, might have been brought within its operation." When this defect was pointed out, the House of Lords, instead of defining in the body of the Act the cases to which it applies, proceeded to limit its scope by inserting a provision that "Nothing in this Act shall apply to any contract of service other than a contract within the meaning of the enactments described in the first schedule." The schedule to which the puzzled plaintiff, or the scarcely less puzzled justice, is thus referred, contains the titles of seventeen statutes, ranging from 7th year of George I. to the 14th and 15th of Victoria. The edition of the Act which Mr. Davis, the stipendiary magistrate at Stoke-upon-Trent, has just published, will prove of great use as a clue to this legislative labyrinth. In this little work so much of the statutes referred to as is required to make the new law intelligible is quoted at full length; and Mr. Davis has also added sundry tables of "matters and things within the jurisdiction of justices under the Master and Servant Act," which remedy as far as possible the omissions of the measure itself.

The Master and Servant Act is really, therefore, a collection of Acts, and it comes into existence with a ready-made supplement of judicial decisions. These are chiefly concerned with the definition of servant and service. Thus "a person engaged to keep the general accounts of a farm, to weigh out food for cattle, to set the men to work, to lend a hand to anything if wanted, and in all things to carry out the orders of his employer," is not included under the description "servant in husbandry." And a person con-

tracting to build a wall for a certain price within a certain time, or to print certain pieces of cotton goods, is not an "artificer, labourer, or other person" within the meaning of the statute, since as between him and the person for whom the wall is to be built, or the cotton printed, "the relationship of master and servant does not exist." But a designer agreeing to serve a calico-printer for a specific period, and a journeyman tailor engaged only for a particular job, but during that job working exclusively for his employer and on his premises, have been held to be included under these terms. In cases like these a great deal turns upon the appearance in the contract of a stipulation for personal service. Thus a person agreeing to make a cutting on a railway, or to load ironstone, and employing others with whom he himself worked occasionally, was not held to be a servant. But colliers engaging to give personal labour have been declared to be "artificers," although they are in the habit of employing other colliers under them. In the case of *Bowers v. Lovekin*, in which this point was decided, Mr. Justice Erle expressed an opinion that the Act would apply to cases in which it is consistent with the contract that the party should work personally, and in which he has actually done so. But this opinion was overruled in the subsequent case of *Ingram v. Barnes*, where it was held by the majority of the Court of Queen's Bench, and affirmed on appeal, that a labouring man agreeing with a contractor to make bricks, taking the clay and finding all labour in preparing it, was not an "artificer," on the ground that there was no contract to do the work personally. This case arose under the Truck Act, which provides that the wages of "artificers" shall be paid in money, but in the course of the argument in the Court of Appeal "some of the judges referred to the Master and Servant Act, and put the question whether, supposing the brickmaker had deserted his work, he could have been sent to prison under the Master and Servant Act, or whether he could have enforced payment of his wages under that Act, and Cockburn, C. J., expressed a clear opinion that he could not have so recovered his wages." In a note on the 9th section of the Act, Mr. Davis gives a useful outline of the proceedings on the hearing. When the case is heard before two justices, they must be present and acting together during the whole of the proceedings. The substance of the complaint upon which the summons was granted is to be stated to the defendant, and if he does not admit its truth, the justices must hear the complainant and such witnesses as he has to bring forward. The defendant then makes his statement and calls witnesses, and the complainant may examine witnesses in reply. The complainant is not entitled to make any observations upon the evidence given by the defendant, nor is the defendant entitled to comment upon the evidence adduced by the complainant in reply. The justices are then to determine the matter, which they may do by abating the wages already due to the workman, by directing the defendant to find security for the fulfilment of his contract, by annulling the contract altogether, by the infliction of a fine not exceeding 20*l.*, or by awarding compensation. Where the misconduct complained of has involved injury to person or property, or has been "of an aggravated character," and has not been committed in the *bonâ fide* exercise of a legal right existing or reasonably supposed to exist, the defendant may be imprisoned for three months. It is, we think, to be regretted that this last provision was included in the Act. The infliction of injury upon person or property is a criminal offence, and should be punished as such: but nothing is gained by this exceptional introduction of a penal element into a statute the scope of which is in all other respects confined to the regulation of the civil relations between master and servant.

CURIOSITIES OF LONDON.*

THERE is a great deal of unsuspected romance lingering about our prosaic capital. Those who bustle through its crowded streets generally shut their eyes to everything beyond what is connected with the business of the moment. But centuries of unsympathizing activity have not eradicated all traces of even the remote past. Our progress, with all its marvels of scientific enterprise, would have seemed to our forefathers extravagant as a fairy tale, and it is only our familiarity with it that makes it less wonderful to ourselves. Indeed, the real curiosities of London are in the present much more than in the past. In some cities life has stagnated, while in others it has been always on the move; and London, heading the march of civilization, seems to have placed a great gulf between it and its old Roman cradle. And yet we may see still standing in Cannon Street, and close to the South-Eastern Railway's monster terminus, the time-worn stone from which the Roman roads are said to have branched out over our island. The ground over which Mr. Timbs has ranged lies between landmarks of time widely separated as these. He carries us back to the mythical infancy of the City, chronicled by writers who, under the mask of an imperturbable gravity, seem to have given the rein to a playful fancy. He follows the story of its growth through the pages of historians and antiquaries, all more or less credulous, till he leaves it in its ripe maturity of 1867. Handbooks to London must be bigger than other handbooks, as London is bigger than other cities, and Mr. Timbs's work is nearly as exhaustive in its way as the *Post Office Directory*. He has been wise in choosing the alphabetical form of arrangement, as

* *Curiosities of London: exhibiting the most Rare and Remarkable Objects of Interest in the Metropolis; with nearly Sixty Years' Personal Recollections.* By John Timbs, F.S.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1868.

the only means of keeping his comprehensive subject within any reasonable bounds. And, moreover, it spares the conscientious reader the necessity of wading through a preliminary dissertation on early British races, and the rise and growth of Roman colonies, although the curious on these points will find some remarks on them in their proper place. Had the work taken the shape of continuous history, paragraphs of fact must have flowed over into pages of gossip and anecdote, and we should have had a series of pleasant volumes something of the bulk and number of those of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. By arranging the subject under different heads, the author establishes a useful check on his own inclinations, and is able to cater with greater impartiality for a variety of tastes, by giving to no one branch an unfair prominence. West-end loungers might prefer to loiter among the Clubs, or to be left to *flâner* quietly down St. James's Street and along Pall Mall, instead of being hustled off to the City. City men may think that more time might have been given to Exchanges and banks, and less to churches; but they must confess that, on the whole, Mr. Timbs has dealt very fairly by every one. Ever curtailing himself, he must have felt like a victim on the bed of Procrustes, and must have been continually doing violence to himself that he might spare his readers. Steering clear of book-making in his own person, he makes bookmakers as Earl Warwick made kings. Indeed the earlier edition of the present work has been so freely drawn on that much of the information it contains has reached us through other channels, and we are apt to do the original owner the injustice of taxing him with the theft of his own recovered goods. *Sic vos non vobis*, &c., might appropriately find a place among the other mottoes on his title-page, were not the use of the quotation somewhat too like playing with edge tools to be risked by the most conscientious of compilers. As it is, in its concentrated body and *bouquet*, Mr. Timbs's work is like the *Madre de Xeres* destined to be drawn off to flavour countless butts of lighter or more ordinary sherry. A very young man could hardly have made a good book on the subject. It must, in any case, be in great measure a compilation; but it ought to be much more than a mere digest of easily accessible authorities. To qualify for such a work a man should have something of the nature of the jackdaw, and be always on the outlook, hunting in places likely and unlikely for anything that may be useful. He should combine the instinct of the chase with the gift of selection. When Mr. Timbs, then, presents his work as the result of the congenial labour of a lifetime, we are not surprised to find that he stands very little in need of the indulgence he claims on that score.

If we cannot say much in favour of our narrow grimy thoroughfares, it must be owned that, at least until spendthrift railway companies began to imitate M. Haussman from a modest distance, we did not see our old associations swept away by wholesale with the venerable tenements to which they clung. There are still quaint gables to be seen in Holborn not unworthy of Rouen or Nuremberg, and the demolitions for the new Law Courts cleared away rookeries almost as picturesque as anything in the *Juden-gasse* of Frankfurt. We may find catalogued in Mr. Timbs's pages many grotesque old gems almost buried out of sight in their hideous modern settings. Even where buildings have disappeared, and country has been merged in town, names survive, and a thread of poetry runs through the foulest neighbourhoods. Our street nomenclature takes us back to the days when the Clerken Well bubbled up in green meadows by the stately Priory of the Knights of St. John; when the limpid Fleet flowed down by it from the heights of Hampstead past pleasant Saffron Hill into the valley of Holborn, where, meeting the Old Bourne, their united waters became a navigable stream, and bore loaded ships and barges to the Thames. Then we have feudal London, when the Barbican lying out beyond the City walls was the advanced post of Cripplegate, and when the Fitzwalters, Bannerets of London, held their feudal state in Baynard's Castle, almost within arrow flight of St. Paul's. At the outbreak of a war, the Chief Banneret of the day was "bound to appear at the west gate of St. Paul's armed and mounted with twenty attendants, and there receive from the Mayor the banner of the City, a horse worth 20*l.*, and 20*l.* in money." Then there was monkish London, in which, as might be expected, the Church had made good her claim to her own share of property and privileges. Friars abounded—Black, White, Grey, and Crutched. The Hospitallers of St. John had their priory at Clerkenwell, of which a gate still remains; and the unlucky rival order had their quarters at the Temple, to which they have bequeathed its name, and where their arms have given place to wigs and gowns. There were Westminster, Covent or Convent Garden, the Minories, named after the *Sorores Minores*; to say nothing of all the localities bearing holy names under the sacred shadow of St. Paul's—Rood Lane, Holy Lane, Ave Maria Lane, Paternoster Row, and Amen Corner. There the stronghold of the class that claimed a monopoly of learning is become the fountain-head of free trade in literature. Many of the older names in the City have become so corrupted in course of time, or their origin is so lost in the haze of antiquity, that it is almost idle to speculate on them. For example, Mr. Timbs follows Geoffrey of Monmouth in referring Ludgate and Billingsgate to Lud and Belin, mythical British Kings; while the suggestion of Verstegan is at least as plausible which reads the former Leod-gate, the people's gate (we have a similar name in the Porta del Popolo at Rome), and derives the other from Belin, a deity of Northern mythology, and possibly not unconnected with the Syrian Baal. The chapter on Inns will interest alike the lovers of old

English poetry and of modern English fiction. Recent improvement has laid rude hands on the ancient hostels. But the Tabard, long ago corrupted into Talbot, still survives in Southwark, although the buildings from which the pilgrims started on their world-famous journey are supposed to have been burned down in the great fire. On the other hand, the Belle Sauvage, where Sir Thomas Wyat was captured, and which was Mr. Weller senior's house of call, and the White Hart, which Jack Cade made his head-quarters, and where Mr. Weller junior was introduced to his future master, have alike disappeared.

The link that binds old and new London together is the civic constitution. If Mr. Timbs is spared, as we sincerely trust he may be, to give us years after this a third edition of his book, he may possibly have to tell the sad story of the decline and fall of the institution, dating it from the day when a Lord Mayor, leaving his state coach at home, sacrificed to reckless innovators the palladium of the City privileges. Good citizens may take it as a sign of the beginning of the end that, of eight hundred and fifty pages devoted to London, only two are spared to the Lord Mayors, their history and their state. Virtuous apprentices may be discouraged by having the legend of Whittington's early poverty exploded, and the historical cat relegated to the realms of fable with the creatures of Æsop and La Fontaine. It would seem that civic dignitaries do not appear under the name of Aldermen until some time after the Conquest. If so, it may be possible that one of the early Norman kings had the ingenious idea of killing two birds with a single stone—of at once insulting what remained of the Saxon nobility, and courting the rising municipalities. At least the latter had bestowed upon them the proud title which, greater than Earl and only lower than Atheling, was at one time borne exclusively by the younger members of princely houses. Moving westwards from the City, it is interesting to glance at the lists of the paintings in private galleries. The Manchester Exhibition drew out a number of isolated treasures whose existence was sometimes unsuspected even by professed art historians. Mere amateurs are apt to ignore our comparative wealth in specimens of the rarer masters like Velasquez, whose works are seldom to be met with out of Spain, or of Paul Potter, whose short career left but few even to Holland. It is amusing to mark the caprices of fashion in populating new quarters and abandoning old ones. In Bermondsey, for example, now sacred to rope-works and tanneries, died two Queens of the rival lines of York and Lancaster—Katherine, wife of Henry V., and Elizabeth Woodville. Tyburnia has extended itself over fields ominously associated with the victims of the Plague, and with a repulsive, though serviceable, British institution; and Belgravia till forty years ago, when the damp clay bed was cleared away, was but a dismal swamp.

We have no time left to follow Mr. Timbs through the endless curiosities of trade and commerce and finance. But we could wish no better guide whether to the bullion vaults of the Bank or the wine-cellars of the Docks, to Messrs. Barclay's brewery, or the *Times* printing-office. He never talks for the sake of talking, and his explanations are always clear, concise, and to the point. He may occasionally go slightly out of his way to notice matters, such as balloons and daguerotypes, that seem to have no special connexion with his subject, but we may forgive some superfluities where omissions are so rare. He has achieved the difficult feat of writing a very valuable dictionary, which contains at the same time a great deal of pleasant reading.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

THE history of Napoleon the First's relations with the Holy See is one of the most curious episodes in the annals of the French Empire. It illustrates in a very striking manner both the ascendancy of mere moral power when it is wisely manifested, and the infatuation of those despots whom success has blinded, and who believe that every obstacle must fall down before the display of brute force. Napoleon is reported to have received a deputation of the Paris Protestant Consistory with the following words—"Mes droits cessent là où ceux de la conscience commencent." We question very much whether the victor of Austerlitz would have allowed, even from the representatives of the old Huguenots, any practical assertion of those rights of conscience whose supremacy he thus formally recognised. At all events, during the whole of the diplomatic transactions which ended in the Concordat, he showed that he did not hesitate to stoop to the meanest arts whenever he thought nothing else could serve his purpose; and at the distance at which we now stand from the complicated negotiations of the year 1806, Napoleon's behaviour throughout the affair, calmly examined, seems as impolitic as it was tyrannical. The correspondence of the Emperor already published, the memoirs of Cardinal Consalvi, and various other documents had previously furnished valuable materials for a history of Bonaparte's transactions with the Holy See, but M. d'Haussonville is the first writer who has attempted to work these materials into a distinct composition, and he has done so most successfully. The two volumes which he has recently published* may be said to have exhausted, so far as the Catholic religion is concerned, the ecclesiastical history of the First Empire. Besides the memoirs and letters already mentioned, he has been able to examine a large number of official documents which had never

* *L'Église Romaine et le premier Empire.* Par M. le Comte d'Haussonville. Paris: Lévy.

before been consulted; and by the aid of the mass of State papers thus accumulated he has written, from a decidedly liberal, but at the same time studiously impartial, point of view, the history of the events beginning with the election of Pope Pius VII. and ending with the invasion of Rome by the French troops under General Miollis. M. d'Haussonville expresses his firm conviction that the fault of the quarrel between Napoleon I. and the Pope was entirely on the side of the Emperor. Pius VII. was personally most kindly disposed towards the master of France, and had uniformly yielded to his requirements. Nor can the French clergy be accused of opposition to the Imperial rule. Far from adopting Ultramontanist views, they merely sighed for rest after the calamitous crisis through which the Church had just passed, and their respect for the new Cæsar might even be regarded as exaggerated. In fact, the great mistake which the dignitaries of the French Church committed was in believing that a system of obsequious compliance was their wisest policy. They lost in respect what they gained in quiet; and the party, always very strong, who aimed at carrying on the work of Voltaire, and at destroying Christianity, were almost justified in despising adversaries who were so ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of ease. We shall await with interest the sequel of M. d'Haussonville's interesting volumes. They will, we may expect, place in its true light, not only Napoleon's behaviour towards the Pope, but the general attitude of Gallicanism during the first few years of the present century.

M. Eugène Garcin's book, entitled *Les Français du Nord et du Midi**, is an attempt to ascertain the share which the Teutonic races and the people of the Languedoc have had respectively in forming the national character of France. It is a pity that the author has thought fit to adopt a kind of dithyrambic style which reminds us sometimes of M. Michelet. Where simplicity, clearness, and method are necessary, we find affectation and obscurity. The work begins with a long introduction devoted to a critical review of the celebrated Provençal poet Mistral, and we learn, *à propos* of this gifted representative of the *gay saber*, that a most serious movement is now going on amongst the Provençal population of France, tending to nothing else than a complete separation between the North and the South, and the reconstitution of Languedoc as a distinct nationality! This is certainly startling news, and we wonder how His Majesty Napoleon III. will like the idea of a quasi-Fenian movement organized and carried out on the banks of the Garonne. M. Eugène Garcin, we are happy to say, steps forward as the apostle of conservatism, and the purpose of his book is to prove, in opposition to M. Mistral, that the fusion of the South of France with the North has been a fortunate result, which it would be unwise to undo. As for their religion, the Languedocians of the middle ages were confirmed heretics, and the crusade against the Albigenes was not a war of races, but really an expedition undertaken to reinstate Catholicism amongst a people utterly sold to the devil himself. Does any true-born child of Provence feel indignant at such an insinuation? Let him be calm, suggests M. Eugène Garcin, and derive comfort from the assurance that, in mingling with the descendants of the Sicambri and the Salii, he has found as his associates people quite as much tainted with heresy as he can possibly be! "France," says our author, repeating a favourite sentiment of Napoleon I., "is of the religion of Voltaire." Whether as regards race, language, or local characteristics, M. Garcin is equally determined to show that the Southern population have essentially benefited through their connexion with the North; and it is amusing to see how he appeals to the vanity of those whom he endeavours to convince, by demonstrating that the combined genius of Languedoc and Languedoil has enabled France to eclipse in every branch of human knowledge all the other countries of the civilized world, including Germany, England of course, and Italy. With their share in the superiority of France the Provençals ought to be thoroughly satisfied; nor would they gain anything, but rather the reverse, by reverting to their old position of a distinct nationality.

We have no doubt that, in his glorification of Southern France, M. Mistral would devote a separate and very eulogistic chapter to the Marseillais Pierre Puget†; but he could scarcely pretend to do more for the memory of the great sculptor than M. Léon Lagrange has achieved in his very interesting and conscientiously written book. If Poussin may be regarded as the best representative of French painting, surely no one amongst our neighbours has approached nearer to the ideal of a sculptor than the author of the fine group of Milo Crotoniates. The life of Pierre Puget has often been written, but M. Lagrange is by no means a copyist of his predecessors. He has had the good fortune of being able to collect no fewer than two hundred unpublished documents, which illustrate many important episodes in the life of Puget; he also rectifies in several places the statements of Du Dieu, Emeric David, and Zénon Pons; and finally, he speaks of sculpture and painting as a critic who really understands what he is discussing. The volume is accompanied by a descriptive catalogue of Puget's works. M. Lagrange's biography of Joseph Vernet had given promise of an accurate and painstaking writer, and this promise is amply fulfilled in the work before us.

About Bernard Palissy, too, narratives of every kind abound.‡ No artist was ever more studied, and no life has been more

frequently described. The struggles through which he had to pass, the tragic character of the times in which he lived, and his trials, both as a Protestant and as an artist, as a scientific philosopher and as a practical artisan, have concurred to make him a favourite subject for study. M. Louis Audiat once more attempts to sketch the full-length portrait of the celebrated Saintongeais genius, and he does so in an excellent manner. Not only does Palissy appear once more before us in this *étude*, as the work is modestly called, but we have Calvin, Agrippa d'Aubigné, Montmorency, Théodore de Bèze—the whole sixteenth century, in short. For most readers, Palissy is only an admirable artist, and nothing else. Yet it may justly be questioned whether as a chemist, a naturalist, and a writer, he did not accomplish quite as much, if not more; and this is what M. Audiat has very well pointed out. His little book combines the interest of a novel with the sober merits of sterling history.

The series of Reports issued by order of M. Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction, with the sanction of the Emperor Napoleon III., is advancing with great rapidity, and will form, when finished, a most interesting *état de situation* of literature, science, and the fine arts during the last twenty-five years. The volume we have now before us, one of the best of the whole set*, embraces all the topics connected with Egypt and the East. If there is a branch of human knowledge in which discoveries have been more abundant and valuable than in most others, it is in Oriental studies. Since the researches of Dr. Young and Champollion, what advance has taken place in the deciphering of hieroglyphics! Silvestre de Sacy did, no doubt, a great deal towards an accurate study of Arabic lore, but his pupils MM. Reinaud and Deffrémery have carried on with equal success the task which he began so well. As for the mysteries of the cuneiform alphabet, their elucidation is of quite recent date, and M. Oppert, in France, was almost the first to work that part of the literary field. The learned translator of Moses Maimonides, the late M. Munk, has left behind him a reputation equal to that of Buxtorf and Gesenius, and, for extent of erudition, Étienne Quatremère stands unrivalled. If we direct our notice to the rich treasures of Sanscrit poetry and philosophy, the names of M. Eugène Burnouf, M. Régnier, and M. Fauche occur at once; whilst China and Mantchu Tartary are represented by M. Stanislas Julien, of whom it has been said that he knows Chinese better than the most accomplished mandarin himself. On all these topics M. Guigniaut, the author of the present Report, supplies us with information which is both varied and instructive. His *brochure* is the first of a collection which will embrace archaeology and philology in their different branches.

M. Milne-Edwards has undertaken to draw up the dissertation on the progress of zoology.† He begins by remarking that no one would put up now with the imperfect and dry catalogues which were published half a century ago, or, on the other hand, with those volumes of apocryphal anecdotes about sagacious dogs and wonderful monkeys which were supposed to teach natural history to the young. Zoology has at last stepped into the position which Aristotle contemplated for it—namely, that of a science not exclusively anatomical, nor solely methodical, nor yet strictly descriptive. It is considered as the general and special history of animal life, and it forms one grand homogeneous study in which all investigations relating to the distinct classes of living creatures are seen to be connected by one leading idea. M. Milne-Edwards has added to his excellent essay valuable bibliographical notes and an alphabetical index.

It was impossible to find a *savant* better qualified than M. Quet to deal with the questions connected with electricity, magnetism, and capillarity.‡ Well known by his discoveries in those sciences, he comes before us with all the authority of a master, and his essay is the more interesting because it refers to discoveries which have during the last few years been extensively applied to artistic or domestic purposes. To say nothing of the electric telegraph and of the electric light, what a number of useful practical results have sprung from the close observation of those laws with which the names of Volta, Cæsted, and Ampère will ever be associated! The short remarks made by M. Quet on the phenomena of capillarity refer chiefly to the celebrated discussion which arose many years ago between Laplace and Poisson. M. Quet explains very clearly what the nature of the dispute really was; and as Poisson arrived at the identical laws which his rival had previously established, it was not, after all, one of much importance.

M. Victor Meunier goes on with his amusing, though scarcely instructive, scientific *feuilletons*.§ The famous controversy about the letters ascribed to Pascal is examined, and although he does not venture upon any positive affirmation, M. Victor Meunier is not far from believing in the authenticity of a correspondence which Frenchmen the least favourably disposed towards England have condemned as a manifest forgery. With him the question is not whether the documents brought forward by M. Chasles are genuine or not, but whether Newton was not intolerant, conceited, unjust, cruel, &c. Amongst the subjects discussed in this new instalment of *La Science et les Savants* is the inevitable origin of species, and

* *Les Français du Nord et du Midi*. Par Eugène Garcin. Paris: Didier.

† *Pierre Puget*. Par Léon Lagrange. Paris: Didier.

‡ *Bernard Palissy, Étude sur sa Vie et ses Travaux*. Par Louis Audiat. Paris: Didier.

* *Rapport sur les Progrès des Études relatives à l'Égypte et à l'Orient*. Par M. Guigniaut. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

† *Rapport sur les Progrès récents des Sciences Zoologiques en France*. Par M. Milne-Edwards. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

‡ *De l'Électricité, du Magnétisme, et de la Capillarité*. Par M. Quet. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

§ *La Science et les Savants en 1867*. Par Victor Meunier. Paris: Germer-Baillière.

the often-handled problem of those flint weapons which have given a new feature to religious controversy.

When Dr. Livingstone returns to Europe, if he will open M. Figuier's twelfth volume of the *Année Scientifique**, he will find (pp. 536, 537) a biographical sketch of himself duly recorded in the scientific obituary for the past year. It is not the first time that a man has been able to see what posterity thought about him, and we are quite sure that no one will rejoice more than M. Figuier at finding the necrological register of the *Année* wrong for once. As to the general contents of the volume, we need only say that they are condensed and classified with the accuracy to which the previous *livraisons* of the same series had already accustomed us. On the subject of Pascal's pseudo-correspondence, M. Figuier regrets that national susceptibilities should have complicated the quarrel; he adds, at the same time, that he does not understand how French savants could condescend to make themselves "the echoes of British animosity." In our turn we must confess that we cannot understand the drift of M. Figuier's argument. If M. Faugère, M. Le Roux de Lincy, M. Ludovic Lalanne, and so many other persons experienced in deciphering autographs are thoroughly persuaded that certain documents are forgeries, are they to conceal their opinion merely because the claim to priority in the discovery of the laws of attraction rests between a Frenchman and a citizen of *la perfide Albion*?

M. Ernest Faivre's little volume on the origin of species† is extremely interesting, and is written in a praiseworthy spirit of impartiality. The author begins by remarking that the question of species has occupied the attention of the most eminent of naturalists of ancient times, and that, if it was not settled then, it is because *a priori* doctrines were all-powerful, and scientific students had to shape their conclusions so as to make them square with certain preconceived views on theology and metaphysics. M. Faivre then goes on to examine briefly the views entertained by Linneus, Buffon, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, and Lamarck; and after giving us in a few words Mr. Darwin's system, he explains his own ideas with reference to the origin and variability of species. The notion of a natural selection, M. Faivre observes, is very ingenious; and, if ascertained to be a positive fact, might no doubt help to clear away many difficulties; but in the present condition of science it cannot claim to be more than a plausible hypothesis. What are the limits of the variability of species? Such are, accurately speaking, the terms of the question, and from that point of view M. Faivre has written his excellent *résumé*.

We must notice, as they appear, the *livraisons* of M. Littré's French dictionary.‡ This gigantic work has already reached its seventeenth part, and the substantive *miséricorde* is the one with which the present instalment concludes. Amongst the etymologies we have noticed in this part of the work, one occurs which is quite new to us. We were formerly aware that persons hesitated between *mayonnaise* and *magnonnaise*; but it seems that the proper spelling in this case is *mahonnaise*, from *Mahon*, a city taken by the Duke de Richelieu in 1756. Under the name Martin, M. Littré refers to the well-known proverb about a certain Abbot of Asello who lost his benefice for having put a full stop in the wrong place. The anecdote, our lexicographer remarks, is not true, and it must be ascribed to the ingenuity of critics who will rather invent an explanation than acknowledge their ignorance.

M. Félix Clément, the accomplished author of the *Dictionnaire Lyrique*, has attempted to diffuse a taste for good music by the publication of a series of biographies§ including the most celebrated composers from the sixteenth century down to our own times. We need scarcely stop to prove that, if any person wants to appreciate thoroughly the ballad of the *Erl-König*, the overture to *Der Freischütz*, or the quartets of Haydn, he should know something of Schubert's life, trace the influences which moulded Weber's genius, and accompany Haydn during his residence at the Court of Prince Esterházy. The volume just published by M. Clément will make such studies both profitable and pleasant. After a short introduction, describing the principal phases of the history of music, M. Clément gives us first the biography of Orlando Lasso. His gallery consists chiefly of musicians whose reputation has arisen from their genius as composers; but it would have been unfair to exclude altogether mere performers when they have achieved the fame of a Paganini or a Thalberg, and accordingly five chapters are reserved for them in the volume. The pictorial illustrations are taken from undoubtedly authentic originals, and in some cases they were procured from Berlin, Rome, and Naples at no small expense. A biographical list of *documents à consulter*, and an alphabetical index, have been added by M. Clément.

Two volumes of detached aphorisms and portraits after the fashion of La Bruyère are now before us. The one by Madame Blanchecotte is rather severe, and betrays experience of the gloomy side of life.¶ The other, by M. Armand Frémy||, is an amusing and very true picture of a large class of people whom the democratic habits of the present day constantly oblige one to encounter. Ill-mannered men and women are certainly more plentiful just

* *L'Année Scientifique et Industrielle*. Par Louis Figuier. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

† *La Variabilité des Espèces et ses Limites*. Par E. Faivre. Paris: G. Germer-Baillière.

‡ *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*. Par M. Littré. 17e livraison. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

§ *Les Musiciens Célèbres, depuis le Seizième Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours*. Par Félix Clément. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

¶ *Impressions d'une Femme*. Par Madame Blanchecotte. Paris: Didier.

|| *Les Gens mal élevés*. Par Armand Frémy. Paris: Lévy.

now than they were forty years ago, and eccentricities (to use a mild expression) are tolerated, as a matter of course, which our forefathers would have considered as disqualifying a man for admission into good society.

M. Michelet continues his fantastic sketches of natural history, and deals, in the present instance, with mountains and mountain scenery.* He is qualifying as a member of the Alpine Club. Let us leave behind us, he says, our sensational novels, our sickly literature. *Manfred*, or Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*, are out of place at the foot of Monte Rosa. We want more energy, greater purity and earnestness. Let us train ourselves to these ennobling qualities by conversing with nature in the scenes where she displays its grandest features.

M. Joanne's novel, *Un Châtiment*†, shows the results of bad education in a woman. Where moral culture is absolutely neglected, there is no safeguard to oppose to the temptations which must necessarily assail every one, and the heavy penalty paid by the victim is too often the consequence of errors for which early training is really responsible. The idea developed by M. Joanne may be deficient in novelty, but the author has worked it out with much ability.

* *La Montagne*. Par J. Michelet. Paris: Lacroix.

† *Un Châtiment*. Par A. Joanne. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

Dr. CAUVIN has written to us with respect to certain statements which, in our Article of last week entitled "Lord Brougham and Dr. Cauvin," we reproduced from the *Plaintiff's Bill*. The statements to which he refers are that "his name was not to appear on the title-page as Editor," that "he would be neither required nor permitted to write anything for publication," and that "his task was to be strictly limited to suggesting to Lord BROUGHAM any alterations and additions which might occur to him in the course of his labours." These assertions, which we gave nearly in the exact words of the newspaper report before us, are declared by Dr. Cauvin to be without foundation.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW

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ADVERTISEMENTS.

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MORNING PERFORMANCES, March 14, 21, 28.—On Saturday next, March 14, the Programme will include Mozart's Divertimento, for Strings and Two Horns; Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata, for Piano and Violin; Mozart's Sonata in A major, for Pianoforte. Executants, Madame Schumann; MM. Joachim, L. Ries, Henry Blagrove, and Platt. Sofa Stalls, 5s.; Balcony, 3s.; Admission, 1s.—Programmes and Tickets at Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street.

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INSTITUTION of NAVAL ARCHITECTS.

NOTICE.

THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING of the INSTITUTION of NAVAL ARCHITECTS will take place at Twelve o'clock on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of April, at the Hall of the Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, London. There will also be EVENING MEETINGS on Thursday and Friday, at Seven o'clock. Papers on the Principles of Naval Construction, on Practical Shipbuilding, on Steam Navigation, on the Equipment and Management of Ships for Merchandise and for War, will be read at this Meeting.

CHARLES CAMPBELL, Assistant Secretary.

7 Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C., February, 1868.

CRYSTAL PALACE.—THIRD GRAND TRIENNIAL HANDEL FESTIVAL, June, 1868.

Conductor—Mr. COSTA.

This great celebration in commemoration of Handel will be held under the most distinguished patronage. Magnificent as former celebrations have been, the coming Festival will afford the most complete and effective display of Handel's music, and of colossal Orchestral effects, ever witnessed in this or any other country. The Orchestra, on the grandest possible scale, will consist of **FOUR THOUSAND PERFORMERS**, selected with the greatest care from all the best sources and localities.

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The issue of Vouchers securing any of the above classes of Tickets will commence at the Crystal Palace and at Exeter Hall, on Monday next, March 9, at Ten o'clock in the Morning precisely, when also Plans of Seats may be inspected. Programmes may now be had by Letter or by Personal Application.
The Festival Committee pledge themselves to deal with Written Applications in the order in which they arrive, alternately with Personal Applications, on the 9th instant. Every Application must be accompanied by the requisite Remittance, whether through Agents or otherwise.

March 2, 1868.

GEO. GROVE, Secretary, Crystal Palace Company.
THOMAS BREWER, Hon. Sec., Sacred Harmonic Society.

THE HANDEL FESTIVAL OFFICES will issue VOUCHERS for TICKETS on Monday next, March 9, at Ten A.M. precisely.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.—NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that on Wednesday, the 25th of April next, the Senate will proceed to Elect EXAMINERS in the following Departments:

Examinerships.	Salaries. (Each.)	Present Examiners.
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Two in The German Language	£100	
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Two in Logic and Moral Philosophy	£80	(Prof. Bain, M.A. (Vacant.
Two in Political Economy	£50	(Jacob Waley, Esq., M.A. (Vacant.
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Two in Experimental Philosophy	£100	(Vacant.
Two in Chemistry	£175	(Henry Debus, Esq., Ph.D., F.R.S. (Prof. Williamson, Ph.D., F.R.S.
Two in Botany and Vegetable Physiology	£75	(Rev. M. J. Berkeley, M.A. (Saml. Thomson, Esq., M.D., F.R.S. (Archibald Geikie, Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S. (Prof. T. Rupert Jones, F.G.S.
Two in Geology and Palaeontology	£75	
LAW.		
Two in Law and the Principles of Legisla- tion	£100	(Prof. Mountague Bernard, B.C.L., M.A. (John Richard Quinn, Esq., LL.B.
MEDICINE.		
Two in Medicine	£150	(Samuel Wilks, Esq., M.D. (Vacant.
Two in Surgery	£150	(F. Le Gros Clark, Esq. (Prof. J. Eric Erichsen.
Two in Anatomy	£100	(Prof. William Turner, M.B. (Vacant.
Two in Physiology, Comparative Anatomy, and Zoology	£150	(Prof. Huxley, LL.D., F.R.S. (Vacant.
Two in Midwifery	£75	(John Braxton Hicks, Esq., M.D., F.R.S. (Prof. Priestley, M.D.
Two in Materia Medica and Pharmaceutical Chemistry	£75	(Samuel Osborne Halesworth, Esq., M.D. (Vacant.
Two in Forensic Medicine	£50	(E. Headlam Greenhow, Esq., M.D. (Thomas Stevenson, Esq., M.D.

The Examiners above named are re-eligible, and intend to offer themselves for re-election. Candidates must send in their Names to the Registrar, with any attestation of their qualifications they may think desirable, on or before Tuesday, March 31. It is particularly desired by the Senate that no Personal application of any kind be made to its individual Members.

Burlington House, W.

March 3, 1868.

By Order of the Senate,

WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M.D., Registrar.

MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE, March, 1868.—THIRTEEN
SCHOLARSHIPS, varying in value from £50 to £15 a year, besides a number of FREE ADMISSIONS, each worth £20, will be competed for early in June next. Two of the Scholarships will be offered for proficiency in Mathematics; Two are limited, One to Sons of Clergymen, and One to Sons of Indian Chaplains or Missionaries; the rest are open. Age of Candidates from Twelve to Sixteen.—Full particulars may be obtained on application to Mr. SELLICK, The College, Marlborough.

NAVAL CADETS, &c.—FOSTER'S NAVAL and MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.—At the recent December Examinations (1867), Pupils took—1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 10th places for First Class Naval Cadets; 1st, N.S.S.I., 10th, and 32nd for Sandhurst; 9th and 14th for Marine Commissions; 40th for Woolwich.

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